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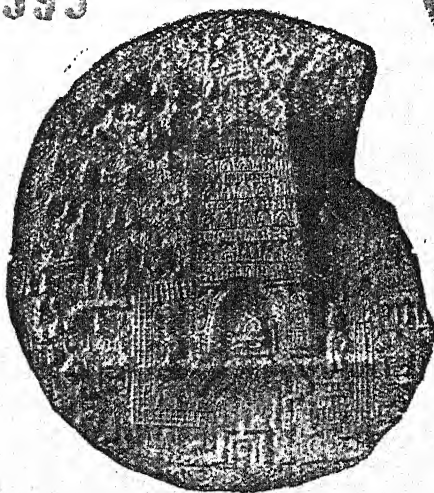
PART I.

**THE JOURNAL**  
OF THE  
**BIHAR AND ORISSA  
RESEARCH SOCIETY.**

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March



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# JOURNAL

## OF THE

### BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

March 1927.

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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VOL. XIII]

1927

[PART I.

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### LEADING ARTICLES

#### **I—Annual Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society**

**Review of the work of the year 1926 by V. H. Jackson,  
Esq., Vice-President of the Society**

DURING the year under review the Society has suffered a severe loss in the untimely death of Sir John Bucknill, who first became a member of our Council in 1922, and took a leading part in the subsequent reconstruction. Before coming to Patna, Sir John had been President of the well-known Raffles Museum at Singapore, so that in securing his consent to undertake similar duties in connection with the Provincial Museum this province was exceptionally fortunate. He had specialised in ornithology and numismatics, but his interests extended over a much wider range and included many of our special activities. Members of the Society, especially those who remember the impression created by his address at the University Convocation of 1923, will learn with much regret

that his death has deprived us of the opportunity of hearing another address from him at this meeting, as he had offered to speak on one of his favourite subjects, the History of Coins.

As already announced on the notices of this meeting, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gananath Sen had accepted the invitation of the Council to deliver an address to-day, on the subject of Ancient Indian Medicine, but I regret to say that a telegram was received from him on Saturday last stating that owing to indisposition he cannot come to Patna, and asking that his apologies may be conveyed to the President and members of the Society.

Owing to his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Professor Jadunath Sarkar, who has been a member of our Council from the commencement and has frequently contributed to the Journal in connection with his studies in Mughal and Mahratta history, has been compelled to resign. We have also lost, though fortunately only temporarily, the services of Mr. Horne, who as General Secretary since 1922 has done so much to bring the affairs of the Society into their present satisfactory condition.

From these topics, it is a more pleasant task to turn to the progress of the Society during the past year. As regards membership and finance, the usual reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, which are in the hands of members, show that we are at least maintaining our ground. During Your Excellency's term of office, the idea of a building for a Museum has, like other still larger proposals for the intellectual advancement of Patna as a provincial capital, evolved out of the stage of alternative schemes into that of a settled fact, and the Research Society has special reason to be thankful to Government for the decision that, in the building which is now rising above the ground on the Patna-Gaya road, a separate wing will be reserved for its office and records, for its meetings, and above all, for its library.

The value of any Society of this type must be judged mainly by two things, the quality of the library  
**The Library** provided for the use of its specialist-



members and that of its Journal and other publications. This Society is still handicapped by its comparative youth, but this is an error which gradually corrects itself, and it has already shown that there is ample room for it in India. Our library is by no means large at present, for it contains less than 3,500 volumes, but it is unusually valuable for its size, and it now receives almost all the allied journals published in different parts of the world. These in particular are gradually being improved by purchase of back numbers where available, but it is obvious that the library still needs both further development and more publicity, neither of which is possible until the Society moves into its new home. The handsome donation of our latest Vice-Patron, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, announced last year is being kept as a nucleus for the former purpose, and a catalogue will be printed and supplied to members after the rearrangement of its contents which the transfer will entail. Our policy ought not to be one of attempting to compete with other local institutions, such as the Oriental and Sinha Public Libraries and those of the University and the attached colleges, in their wider scope, but one of continuing to specialise on definite lines, working in co-operation with these libraries in such a way that in a few years' time it may be possible to offer in Patna to students of advanced Indology at least one copy of every important book which they may require.

Undoubtedly the most satisfactory feature of the year is the high standard maintained by our Journal, **The Journal** which continues to grow in reputation both in India and abroad, to an extent which may best be judged by the increasing number of references to its contributions in the leading publications of other learned societies. It has continued under the editorship of Mr. Jayaswal with the assistance of Dr. Banerji-Sastri, who has also undertaken the duties of Honorary Secretary during the absence of Mr. Horne. All four issues have been duly brought out, and contain over 600 pages of original matter, as well as ten plates illustrating inscriptions, seals,

architecture and historical sites, and a supplement of 214 pages of critically edited text. The latter is the concluding portion of Bhaṭṭasvāmin's word-for-word Sanskrit commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, mentioned in last year's review, and completed by the editors in the September issue. Messrs. Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri are now preparing an introduction to their edition of the Commentary, which will be published shortly.

As regards the Journal itself, although the eleventh volume included the whole of our edition of Buchanan's Shahabad Journal as a double number, its successor exceeds it in size and still more in the number of contributions and variety of subjects with which they are concerned. After attempting to notice as many as twenty-six articles and sixteen miscellaneous contributions by twenty-three different authors in the manner usually adopted in the Vice-President's annual review, I find that it would be impossible to do the barest justice to them without extending my remarks on this occasion to undue length. In departing from the usual procedure, however, I must make an exception in the case of the two contributions received from our honorary members, because each of these in its own sphere settles a controversy of considerable local interest, and each pronounces judgment definitely against a theory which has hitherto held the field.

In 1914 the late Dr. Spooner discovered on the terrace at Kumrahar the remarkable terracotta plaque which is familiar to all our members, since in accordance with the opinion expressed by him in the very first article appearing in our Journal, it was accepted as a representation of the famous temple at Bodhi Gaya, and as such has been reproduced on the cover of every issue. A year later, in the September number of 1916, the late Dr. Vincent Smith challenged this view, mainly on the ground that Hiuen Tsiang mentions two temples at the site, the earlier by Aśoka having been replaced by one which the Chinese traveller himself saw and described, and that this did not agree with the representation on the plaque. Dr. Spooner in reply tentatively claimed the plaque as a

representation of the Aśokan temple on the strength of the age of the Kharoṣṭhī script which it bears, but he added that "if ever the inscription can be read, the matter may be settled once for all." Dr. Sten Konow, who is editing the forthcoming Kharoṣṭhī volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, has made a careful examination both of the plaque itself and of photographs, and has published his reading in the June issue, as *Ko[thumasa] samghadā[sa]sa kiti* or "the work of Samghadāsa, the Kauthuma." From the character of the script, which he assigns to the second or third century A.C., he concludes that "the so-called Bodh Gaya plaque was left in ancient Pataliputra by a Buddhist pilgrim from the north-west, where Kharoṣṭhī was the usual script."

Mr. Oldham's monograph on the battle of Buxar (October 23rd, 1764) is the work of a specialist on the subject, whose interest was first quickened by his accidental discovery in 1893-94, when Subdivisional Officer of Buxar, of the inscriptions on the tombstones of two of the chief generals of the Nawab Wazir who fell in that battle, Saiyid Ghulam Qadir and Sheikh Muhammad 'Isā, otherwise known as Shujā 'Quli Khān, now resting in the arms of a large banyan (*bar*) tree about eight feet from the ground, on the outskirts of the modern village of Katkauli; and also of the filled-up well called *ganj-i-shahidan* or "heap of martyrs", within a few yards of that tree. In addition to copies of these inscriptions and a photograph of the *bar* tree taken in 1917, Mr. Oldham has with the sanction of the Secretary of State reproduced a hitherto unpublished plan of the battle attached to the diary of Major Champion, Munro's second-in-command, in the Record Department of the India Office, and has supplemented it by other maps and plans drawn by himself, which show the present topographical conditions as well as the approximate positions of the contending forces. Every known source of information from both sides has been consulted in his description of the battle and of the events of the few days preceding it, and the evidence that the scene of the most severe fighting was east instead of west of Katkauli, and

that the present monument is about a mile too far west of its proper position, seems to be overwhelming.

Besides this article, matters connected with Indian History in the eighteenth century are dealt with in two papers by Mr. L. Lockhart, a new contributor from Teheran, describing a rare Spanish account of Nadir Shah, and Mr. R. P. Khosla in a study of Mughal nobility. Doubtful questions of genealogy and tribal relations in mediæval times are discussed by Messrs. Parmananda Acharya and Nalininath Das Gupta and by the Rev. H. Heras; and in a series of four papers Dr. Banerji-Sastri goes back to the earliest period in seeking to reconstruct the history of the ancient Asuras from literary tradition.

Ancient Indian Mathematics, Philosophy and Geography are each represented by one contribution from Messrs. S. K. Ganguly, H. R. Rangaswamy Iyer and Binyak Misra, respectively.

Religious and social history are the subject matter of two papers, one by Dr. Banerji-Sastri on the Ājivikas and the other by Mr. Manmatha Nath Roy on Ostracism in ancient Indian Society.

Anthropology and its kindred subjects ethnology and folklore are also strongly represented this year. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray contributes four papers, three of which are a continuation of his enquiries among the Oraons of Chota Nāgpur and the fourth deals with the small tribe calling themselves Asurs, in the west of that division. There are also two contributions by the Rev. P. O. Boddington on Santhali, and in folklore no less than three by Mr. S. C. Mitra, two by Mr. S. N. Ray three by Mr. K. P. Mitra and one by Mr. S. C. Ghosh.

In Archaeology the late Mr. Manomohan Ganguly was the author of three papers published in this year's Journal on the subject of Indian Architecture, Vedic and Post-Vedic. In Epigraphy in addition to Dr. Steen Konow's article, there is a short note by myself on a possible reading of the Karna Chopar inscription, and a paper by Dr. Banerji-Sastri on the possibility of Jain and therefore anti-Ājivika influence in this and other Barābar Caves.

Art is represented by two contributions. One is Mr. Mannk's lecture tracing the course of Indian painting from the earliest days, and the other by Mr. N.C. Mehta deals with the pictorial motif in ancient Indian literature.

The search for Sanskrit manuscripts is proceeding steadily.

#### **Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts**

The Mithila Pandit is now working in the district of Bhagalpur. Government having given the necessary financial assistance, an Oriya Pandit was appointed in September, and the search for similar manuscripts in Orissa was resumed. He is now working in Dhenkanal. The printing of the first volume (on Dharmaśāstra) of the eight contemplated volumes of the descriptive catalogue of Mithila Sanskrit MSS. prepared under the supervision of Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Banerji-Sastri, has been finished and will be published as soon as the Index and Introduction are ready. The cost will be met from the first instalment of Rs. 5,000 given by the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga. The publication of a similar descriptive catalogue of the Oriya MSS. cannot be undertaken until funds are available.

Two lectures, illustrated by lantern slides, were arranged

#### **Meetings**

during the year, in order to bring the members of the Society and the general public together. The first on Glimpses into the Study of Pictorial Art in India by Mr. P. C. Manuk, published in the June issue of the *Journal*, has already been referred to, and the second, on Antiquities in Mayurbhanj by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, will be published in the March issue of 1927.

As regards the important work which has been undertaken

#### **The Buchanan Journals and Reports**

by the Society in connection with the publication of the Buchanan Journals and Reports, it is now possible to state that arrangements have been finally settled which bring the end of this heavy task definitely within sight. During the year, Mr. Oldham's edition of the Shahabad Journal has been completed by the addition of his Index, and the whole is soon to be published by Government in

volume form. I expressed the hope last year that we would be able to obtain the services of an equally competent editor for the third and last of the series of these hitherto unpublished Journals, and it is with special satisfaction that I can now announce that Mr. Oldham himself has consented to continue this work. He has been engaged for some time in editing this Journal, which refers to Buchanan's tour of Bhagalpur, the Santal Parganas, and Monghyr during the cold weather of 1810-11.

Several essential matters have been considered and settled during the year by the Council in connection with the four Bihar volumes of the Buchanan Reports, which are to be published for the first time in full. Government have been good enough to extend the privilege of publication at the Government Press to these volumes also, and have further undertaken to purchase a number of sets of each of the volumes at their published price. I gladly take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation of the assistance which we have received from the authorities of the Press, both in this matter and in the work of printing our own Journal.

The only one of Buchanan's Reports which has ever been published in complete form previously is that on the district of Dinajpur, written in 1808 and brought out in parts between 1831 and 1833 in Calcutta under the supervision of Captain Herbert, succeeded by the illustrious James Prinsep. In preparing the volume containing the Purnea Report for the Press, I have endeavoured to arrange it in a form which will be considerably more attractive to the reader than the Dinajpur edition, and also one which will be equally suitable for the three volumes to follow. Moreover, each of the new volumes will be provided with a much-needed index, and with a reproduction of Buchanan's own map of the corresponding district, improved in a way which I am about to describe.

The whole of the Purnea Report itself is already in type, and extends over more than 600 pages, but the preparation of the index has been unexpectedly delayed. We have found that so many alterations in the district have been caused



by the changes in the course of its rivers, particularly the Kosi, since Buchanan's time, that many of the places mentioned by him cannot be traced in the modern issue of standard survey sheets of the district. For instance, the town of Nathpur, where the Report itself was written in 1811, has completely disappeared, having been swept away by the Kosi in 1875. It has therefore been considered necessary to await receipt of the new map which has been prepared in England by skilled photographers and cartographers. A copy which has just been received is exhibited at this meeting as a specimen of our intentions. It is a collotype reproduction of a photograph of the manuscript map in the India Office Library, enlarged to a scale sufficient to permit conveniently the substitution of nearly all Buchanan's place-names for the figures by which he himself had to indicate them, and subsequently again reduced by photography to a scale slightly smaller than Buchanan's own. The number of place-names indicated in the original map is so great that no fewer than 67 have still to be shown by marginal references. The scale is reduced more than was originally intended, but this is due to the fact that at the time of the survey Purnea included a strip along the Kosi extending almost to the border of Murshedabad, and nearly fifty miles south of its present boundary; and the methods employed are a guarantee that the reproduction is strictly accurate in every detail.

Our thanks are again due to Mr. Oldham, not only for the trouble and care with which he has supervised the preparation of this map, but also for his expert assistance in supplying other material required for the new volumes. During the year we have received full information regarding the Statistical Tables relating to Purnea, as well as Miss Anstey's copy of the missing portion of the Patna-Gaya Report. After the completion of the Purnea volume, which should be ready by the end of this year, it is hoped that the rest can be issued at shorter intervals, though this may have to depend to some extent on the reception accorded to the first volume.



## II—Notes from the Madala Panji—[Muhammadan Conquest of Orissa]

By Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., F. A. S. B.

THE word *mādalā* means drum, and the palm-leaf records of the Temple of Jagannath are so called because they are tied together in the form of big round bundles resembling the Indian drum. Every such *mādalā* or drum-shaped bundle consists of several different *pāñjis* or manuscripts. These *pāñjis* differ from the ordinary palm-leaf *puthis* or manuscripts in arrangement and size. An ordinary palm-leaf manuscript consists of separate leaves held together by a string that passes through a hole in the middle of each leaf, but the *pāñji* of the *Mādalā Pāñji* consists of a number of pairs of palm leaves that are not completely separated from each other. These pairs of leaves are tied at one end by a string.

The *Mādalā Pāñjis* include all classes of records relating to the Temple of Jagannath, such as inventories of articles in the stores, duties of different classes of temple servants, routine of ceremonies, copies of orders of the Gajapati Maharajas of Orissa who are the hereditary trustees of the Temple, and the annals of these Maharajas. This last section of the *Mādalā Pāñji* was first brought to the notice of the students of history by A. Stirling in his "An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack", published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825. Stirling thus describes the annals :—

"The chapter of the Mandala Panji or Records preserved in the temple of Jagannath, called the Raj Charitra or 'Annals of the Kings' in the Uria

language, which records are stated to have been commenced upon more than six centuries back, and to have since been regularly kept up." Pp. 94-95.

Stirling embodied a summary of the annals in the historical section of his essay. A more detailed summary in Bengali verse was published by Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyaya in his *Purushottama Chandrikā* in the Śāka year 1766 (A.D. 1844). Hunter based his account of the Kings of Orissa on Bhabani Charan's work. Monmohun Chakravarti in his Notes on the Language and Literature of Orissa<sup>1</sup> and other papers has made considerable use of the original manuscripts.

But as the text of the annals included in the *Mādalā Pāñji* (henceforward named as the Puri annals) has not yet been published, in October last (1926) I went to Puri to secure the original manuscripts. The *Mādalā Pāñjis* are preserved by two officers of the Temple of Jagannath, the Deul Karan or the clerk of the temple, and the Taḍhau Karan, or the keeper of the jewellery of the temple. Under the instruction of Raja Rama Chandra Deva of Puri, Babu Gauranga Charan Samanta Roy, the present Deul Karan, lent me two manuscripts (marked A and B), and Babu Shyam Sundar Patnayak, the present Taḍhau Karan, lent me three manuscripts (marked C, D and E). These manuscripts are written or rather scratched on palm leaves in an archaic form of Oriya character and the language is colloquial Oriya. With my pupil, Babu Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., I am now engaged in collating the manuscripts. These notes are intended to serve as a preliminary report on them.

A. This manuscript consists in all of 25 pairs of palm leaves. The first 22 pairs form a unit. It is entitled—

*Rajāmānaṅka rāya bhoga kālā*

“The annals (lit. reigns) of kings.”

It begins with a list of kings of the Satya Yuga and ends with the 8th Aṅka (A.D. 1742) of Rājā Virakeśari Deva. The

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<sup>1</sup> J.A.S.B., Vol. LXVII, Part 1898, pp. 376-379.

last three pairs of leaves are later additions. Of these the first two pairs [A(2)] form a separate unit and give a list of the Rajas of Khurda with their anka years and the corresponding years of the Amali era, up to the 5th anka of Virakeśari Deva II corresponding with the year 1262 (A.D. 1857). The third pair [A(3)] is a separate unit and contains the list of the kings of the Kali Yuga beginning with Yudhishtira and ending with Naṅguḍa Narasiṅha Deva.

B. This manuscript consists of 15 pairs of leaves that form one single unit. It contains the annals from the beginning of the Kali Yuga to the 5th Anka of Maharaja Ramachandra Deva III corresponding with the Śaka year 1743 (A.D. 1820-21). It is entitled—

*Rajāvānaṅka rāyga-bhoga*

C. This manuscript consists of 23 pairs of leaves, most of which are worm-eaten. The first 17 pairs form one single unit. It is entitled—

*Kaliyuga rajāmānaṅka bhoga kalā*

“Annals of the kings of Kaliyuga.”

It begins with Yudhishtira and ends with the reign of Chakra Pratāpa Deva, son of Govinda Vidyādhara.

6 pairs of leaves [C(2)] contain not only the list of kings of Orissa but also that of the Patsas (Muhammadan kings).

D. This manuscript consists in all of 33 pairs of leaves including no less than 15 different units that are referred to as D(1), D(2), D(3), etc. Ten of these units have each a single pair of leaves and contain either lists of kings or short résumés. The longest unit, D(10), has 11 pairs of leaves and gives the history from the beginning of time (*Yuga*) to the reign of Ramachandra Deva II. Another unit, D(14), has 5 pairs of leaves and gives the history from the beginning of the Kaliyuga to the reign of Telinga Mukunda Deva.

E. The first pair of leaves in this manuscript gives the anka years with the equivalent Śaka years of kings beginning with Pratāpa Rudra who began reign in Śakāvda 1418

(A.D. 1496) and ending with the 7th *aṅka* of Gopinatha Deva of Khurda corresponding to Śakāvda 1614 (A.D. 1722).<sup>1</sup>

The *aṅka* years of the Orissan kings denote their regnal years omitting the 1st, 6th, 16th, 20th, 26th, 30th, 36th, etc. years so that *aṅka* 2 means the 1st regnal year, *aṅka* 7 the 5th regnal year, and so on.

From the language of the concluding portion of manuscript B it appears that it was completed in the 5th *aṅka* of Ramachandra Deva III. The other versions of the annals, A(1), C(1), D(10) and D(14) appear to be earlier compilations, though they may not be as old as the reign of the kings with whose history they conclude. One legend narrated in all these versions enables us to determine the time when the compilation of these annals was initiated. It is said that in the beginning of the Kaliyuga 18<sup>1</sup> kings of the Somavamsa or the lunar dynasty beginning with Yudhishtira ruled for 3,781 years. In the reign of Śobhana Deva, the 17th king of this dynasty, Raktabāhu, the Amir (*amurā*) of the Mughal Padshah (Patisha) of Delhi, invaded Orissa and ravaged the kingdom. According to one manuscript, C, Raktabāhu, the Mughal from Delhi, came across the sea in a ship (*jāhāza*). Śobhana Deva fled to the Jhāḍakhaṇḍa where he was succeeded by Chandrakara Deva. The Mughals held the kingdom for 35 years. Yajāti Kesari then seized the kingdom and is said to have reigned for 52 years up to Śakāvda 448 (A.D. 526). Stirling and Bhavani Charan call this Raktabāhu a Yavana, but the latter refers to a Mughal invasion in the reign of Nirmala Deva, the grandfather of Śobhana Deva. I have not yet been able to trace the manuscript of the *Rājacharitra* used by Stirling. As stated above, none of the manuscripts I have hitherto examined are so called. As in all these and in the one used by Bhabani Charan, the foreigners who invaded Orissa in the fifth century A.D. are called Mughals, it may be safely concluded that the

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was sent to the press we have discovered an old copy of the annals in a regular palm leaf Oriya manuscript in the collection of Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray of Dighapatiya. It is referred to below as F.

sections relating to the pre-Mughal period of these texts were first compiled in the Mughal period. A strong evidence in regard to the late origin of the pre-Mughal sections of the *Mādala Pāñji* is their general unreliability. To say nothing of the earlier dynasties, no independent evidence has yet been discovered relating to the 42 kings of the Kesari dynasty who are supposed to have reigned from the fifth to the end of the eleventh century A.D. Even the history of the Gaṅga kings is hopelessly muddled.

In the Choḍa Gaṅga of the Puri annals, we can hardly recognise Anantavarman Choḍa's Gaṅga whose lineage and history are well known from contemporary epigraphic records. Gaṅgeśvara, the hero of a cycle of nasty legends unknown to history, is sandwiched between Choḍa Gaṅga and his immediate successor Kāmārṇava who is called Kāmadeva. In place of the last seven or eight kings of the Gaṅga dynasty who are alternately named Narasiṃha Deva and Bhanu Deva the Puri annals substitute a succession of six Narasiṃhas followed by six Bhanudevas. But with the accession of Kapilendra we are on firmer historical ground. In A, B, D(6), D(8), D(10) and D(14), the last king of the Gaṅga dynasty is named Matta Bhanu or the mad Bhanu.<sup>1</sup> It is said that Matta Bhanu had no male issue or no brother who could succeed him. So he prayed to Jagannath to nominate a successor. In the night Jagannath appeared before him in a dream and said that in the following morning, near the temple of Vimala, he would meet his heir in the person of a young man picking food from a potsherd who would run away at his approach. In the following morning the king actually met a young man near the temple of Vimala behaving exactly in the same manner. The young man turned out to be Kapili (Kapila), a Raut or Rajput of the Solar line, who after serving as a cowherd of a Brahmana and then associating with a gang of thieves for some time was then leading the life of a beggar. King Matta Bhanu adopted Kapili as his heir-apparent and on his death was succeeded by

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<sup>1</sup> In C and D(3) the last Gaṅga king is named Akatā Abatā Bhanu, son of Matta Bhanu.

him in the Śaka year 1374 (A.D. 1452) according to E, which gives the most reliable dates. On his accession to the throne Kapili came to be known as Kapilendra and Kapileśavara. The tales that have gathered round the early life of this king read more like legends invented by popular fancy than sober history. But in a stone inscription found at Gopinathpur in the Cuttack district which records the erection of a temple of Jagannath by Gopinātha Mahāpātra, a minister of Kapilendra Deva, we are told—

bhāsvad-vamśāvatamsa-tri-jagad-adhipati-tila-śail-

ādhināthasya.

ādeśād-Odra-deśe samajani Kapilendra-

ābhidhāno Narendrah.<sup>1</sup>

“By order of the Lord of Nila-giri (blue hill) (who is) the Lord of the three worlds (Jagannatha), there was born in the Odra-deśa a king named Kapilendra, the ornament of the solar line.”

The reference to the “order” of Jagannatha in connection with Kapilendra in this stanza clearly indicates that his contemporaries believed in some such stories relating to his accession as those preserved in the Puri annals. What was the reason for that belief, what is the substratum of fact underlying the stories, it is now difficult to determine. But after the story of the order of Jagannatha relating to Kapili's succession communicated to Matta Bhanu Deva and his adoption of the former as heir, we are treated to an anachronism in the annals. It is said that Matta Bhanu sent Kapili to the Subadar or Nawab of Orissa to settle the amount of tribute (peshkash) and the Nawab conferred on him the title of Bhramaravara. In the fifteenth century Orissa was an independent kingdom and the titles Subadar and Nawab were unknown in India before the establishment of the Mughal empire more than a century after.

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<sup>1</sup> M. M. Chakravarti, *Inscription of Kapilendra Deva*, J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIX, 1901, Part I, p. 175.



From the middle of the sixteenth century onward it is possible to check the accuracy of the narrative of the Puri annals with the help of the historians of the Mughal empire. By saying so I do not mean that the Mughal histories are necessarily more trustworthy than the corresponding sections of the Puri annals. But we know more about the antecedents, the opportunities and the prejudices of the Mughal historians than those of the anonymous compilers of the Puri annals, and are therefore in a better position to subject the statements of the former to criticism. Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnama* furnishes us with some details relating to the history of the last independent kings in Orissa. The dynasty founded by Kapilendra was overthrown by Govinda Vidyādhara, the powerful minister of his famous grandson Pratāparudra. Govinda Vidyādhara, known as Vira Govinda Deva after his usurpation, who died in Śākāvda 1467 (A.D. 1545), was succeeded by his son Chakra or (Chakā) Pratāpa Deva. The story of the death of Chakā Pratāpa Deva is thus told in A :—

অনেক অন্তায় সে রাযা কলে। ব্রাহ্মণকু বারু ঘাস কটাইলো।  
রাযরে সমস্ত লোক আরত হোইলো। এ রাযা থিলে ভাল নোহিব  
নোইলো। ১৫ অঙ্ক মেস মাস কৃষ্ণ ত্রেদুশী দিন ত্রিপুরাসোতম রাযা  
বাড়ী মাঝী আবাহান হোইলো। এ রাযা ভোগ কলে ১২৬ ১ এহাঙ্ক  
পুত্র নরসিংহ রায যেনা হোই রাজা হেলে।

“The king did many wrong things. He made Brahmans gather fodder for horses. All people were afraid of the king. They said, ‘If this king continue to reign, no good will be done.’ In the 15th Anka on the 13th day of the dark half of the month of Vaisakha, the king died within the compound of the temple of Jagannatha at Puri. This king reigned for 12 years and 6 months.” His son Narasimha who was the heir-apparent became king. Manuscript B, which like A, belongs to the collection of the Deul Karan, gives a somewhat different account of the death of king Chakā Pratāpa. In this manuscript it is stated, “After this his son Chakā Pratāpa



reigned for 8 years (up to the) Śaka year 1471 (A.D. 1549). The span of life of this king had expired. He tied himself with a silken cord to the (image of) Lord Jagannatha within the temple but could not live up to the third quarter of the day. The silken cord snapped and he fell down dead." The date of the death of Chakā Pratāpa given in B and in D(3) is evidently wrong. MS. E., like A and D(10), assigns to Chakā Pratāpa a reign of more than 12 years from the Śaka year 1467 (A.D. 1545) to 1479 (A.D. 1557). In D(10) it is simply stated that Chakā Pratāpa Deva died at Śrī-Purusottama. The account of B read with that of A and D(10) seems to indicate that there was considerable mystery about the death of Chakā Pratāpa Dev. An explanation of this mystery is found in the *Akbarnama* wherein we are told : "There have always been independent rulers in this country. Among them there was formerly Partāb Deo. His son Narsingh Deo out of wickedness rose up against his father and lulled him into carelessness by the repeating of charms. When he got an opportunity, he poisoned him and acquired eternal death,"<sup>1</sup>

The agreement between Abul Fazl's account of the end of Chakā Pratāpa Deva's successor and that given in the temple annals is even closer. I shall reproduce from manuscript A the Oyria original :—

এ মুকুন্দ হরিচন্দন চারি ভাগি রজাকু মেলিয়া হোইলে । রজাকু  
শ্রীনবরে কুটুম্ব যাউঅছন্তি বোলী দোলী ভিতরে যাঈ ভুসী মাইলে ।

A similar account is found in D(10). Instead of translating this passage in English, I shall reproduce Beveridge's English translation of Abul Fazl's account :—

"About that time Mukund Deo had come from Telingana, and entered into the service of the Rajah. He was indignant on beholding this wickedness, and resolved upon vengeance. He represented that his wife was coming to pay a visit (to the Rajah) and filled litters (*dolis*) with arms and sent them off. He also put presents and gold into the hands of skilful and

<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 983.

courageous men, and entered the fort. Inasmuch as a parricide does not last long, the latter was soon disposed of, and the sovereignty went to another."

This passage reads like an enlarged version of the Oriya account quoted above, only the three other brothers of Telinga Mukunda find no mention in it. According to F, Narasimha called Singha Deva, reigned for fifteen days only. Mukunda Harichandana first set up Narasimha's brother Raghurām on the throne and putting him to death after a year in Śakāvda 1481 (A.D. 1559) himself ascended the throne and came to be known as Telinga Mukunda Deva. In his reign Orissa was conquered by the Pathans of Bengal. The story of the conquest is thus told in the annals A, D(10) and D(14) :—

"In the 10th Aṅka (8th year) Mukunda Deva encamped on the bank of the Ganges (*Gaṅgā kaṭakāi kale*). He made an alliance with the Padshah of Delhi (Emperor Akbar), but was hostile to the Padshah of Gaur (Sulaimān Kararānī). He indulged in sports in boats in the Ganges (*Gaṅgāre nāva keli kale*).<sup>1</sup> When the Padshah of Gaur came to know this, he advanced with a large army. When the king (Makunda Deva) came to know this, he took refuge in the Koṭasarmā fort. Several engagements were fought between the Raja and the Padshah near the fort and many of the warriors on both sides were killed, but no party could overcome the other. In the meantime Kala Pahar came from the west along the Kansa- vansa river and laid siege to Katak (Cuttack). Koli Sāanta Singhāra who was in charge of Katak fought hard and was killed. The royal palace was captured. Taking advantage of this confusion, Ramachandra Bhañja who was at Sarangarh, proclaimed himself king. When Mukunda Deva who was at Koṭasarmāgarh heard of the capture of his palace and the assumption of sovereignty by Ramachandra Bhañja, he surrendered himself to the Padshah (Sulaimān Kararānī). A battle

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<sup>1</sup>. In B and F there is no reference to sports in boats, and in both these manuscripts it is stated that the goddess Gaṅgā appeared in person before Mukunda Deva who presented her bangles made of precious stones.

was then fought between Ramachandra Bhañja who was at Sarangarh and Mukunda Deva. Mukunda Deva was killed by Ramachandra Bhañja who in turn was killed by the troops of the Padshah. Both the kings died on the same day. Mukunda Deva reigned for eight years and five months, and during the confusion Ramchandra Bhañja reigned for six months and sixteen days. Then Raghu Bhañja Chhota Rae (who had been confined to prison by Mukunda Deva) again assumed sovereignty, but was treacherously murdered by the Pathans. He reigned for four months and ten days. Afterwards there was no king at Katak. The Mughal (i.e. Pathans) established themselves (at Katak).'

Mukunda Deva's alliance (*priti*) with the Padshah of Delhi originated in a mission that Akbar sent to his court in A.D. 1565. Abdul Fazl writes: "One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Hasan Khān Khazānci (treasurer) to Orissa, which is a territory lying to the S.E. of India. From the time that India was conquered, none of the princes had raised his standard over Orissa. The rulers of that country had always been powerful, and the Rajah who was now ruling them was especially so. From the time when the Afghans had stretched their hand out over Bengal, they had continually planted in the gardens of their aspirations the wishing tree of the conquest of Orissa, but it never bore fruit. For on the borders thereof there were dangerous passes and lofty mountains, and heights and declivities innumerable, and difficult forests so that grasping hands of princes could not reach it. It is difficult for armies to tread on that soil. Whenever any of the competitors for Bengal took refuge with the Rajah of Jagannath, the ruler of Bengal could not lay hands on him. For example, Ibrahim Sur, who has been already mentioned, took refuge with the Rajah of Jagannath, and the latter assigned him a tract of Orissa for his subsistence. Though Sulaimān Kararānī exerted himself he could not put him down. On the contrary he was continually alarmed by him. At this time when Jaunpur was H.M.'s station, his sagacious mind, which extracts the account of the

morrow from the diary of to-day, determined to send one of his confidants to the Rajah in order to range him by gracious means in the lists of the obedient. Hasan Khān Khazānī was chosen for this service, and Mahāpattar, who was unrivalled in the arts of Indian poetry and of music, was sent along with him. The two went together to Orissa. As soon as the Rajah heard of the Shahinshah's favours, he set out to welcome the visitors and had them brought with honour to his city. He treated them properly, and having bound the girdle of service on the waist of his soul, he represented that if Sulaimān did not insert the ring of submission to the sublime court in his mental ear he would collect an army and bring Ibrāhīm, who was Sulaimān's competitor, against Bengal. He would do such things to Sulaimān that he would be a warning to all strife-mongers. After the Rajah had entertained Hasan Khān and Mahāpattar for three months, he selected elephants of note and other valuable presents and sent them to court. Hasan Khān, Mahāpattar and the ambassador of Rajah Mukund Deo who was called Rai Parmānand, had the honour of paying homage at Nagarcin when the Imperial cortège had come there from Jaunpur."<sup>1</sup>

According to Nizamuddin and Badaoni the end that Akbar had in view in sending a mission to the court of the king of Orissa was to dissuade him from reaching the hand of aid and assistance to the rebel Khan Zaman and to prevent his giving him refuge in his dominions.<sup>2</sup>

The hostility (*aprīti*) between Telinga Mukunda Deva and Sulaimān Kararānī was due to Mukunda Deva's giving shelter to Ibrāhīm Sur, once a candidate for the imperial throne after the death of Selim (Islem) Shah, and now a dangerous rival of Sulaimān Kararānī. Mukunda Deva's absence from Orissa and his giving himself away to sports in boats (*nāva keli*) while encamped on the Ganges (probably at Triveni in the Hughly

<sup>1</sup> Beveridge, *Akbarnama*, Vol. II, pp. 381-82.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*. Vol. V., p. 299; Lowe, *Badaoni*, Vol. II, p. 77.

district in Bengal where a bathing ghat is still associated with him) proved his ruin. Abul Fazl, evidently referring to Mukunda Deva's sports in boats, writes, "Though he opened the hand of liberality, yet he turned away from obedience to wisdom, and indulged in self-gratification".<sup>1</sup> In our extract from the temple annals it is stated that Sulaimān Kararānī sent two different expeditions to conquer Orissa; one proceeded straight towards the south and besieged Mukunda Deva at Kotasarma Garh, which is identified by some with Kotsimul on the west bank of the Damodar in the Hooghly district<sup>2</sup>; the other, led by Kala Pahar, proceeded along the Kansbans river which rises on the borderland of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar States, and invaded Orissa from the rear. Abul Fazl ignores the first army of Sulaimān Kararānī which besieged Mukunda Deva and writes about the operations of the second army:—"At the time when Sikandar Uzbek turned away from eternal fortune, and went to Sulaimān Kararānī, the latter sent his son Bayāzid on an expedition against that country (Orissa) by way of Jharkhand, and dispatched Sikandar along with him. The Rajah, yielding to self-indulgence, sent two chosen officers Jihata Rai and Durgā Panj, with a well-equipped force to make war. Those ingrates corrupted the officers of the army by gold and turned to attack their own master by the help of the slaves of gold. Hot engagements ensued, and the Rajah surrendered himself to failure and submitted to Bayāzid. With his aid, a severe conflict took place, and the Rajah and Jihata Rai manfully yielded up their lives. The government fell into the hands of Durgā Panj. Sulaimān by stratagem got possession of his person and put him to death, and became supreme over the country."<sup>3</sup>

Here it will be seen that the second Pathan army was led by Bayāzid, the eldest son of Sulaimān Kararānī, and Kala Pahar, better known for his iconoclasm, was probably one of the generals

<sup>1</sup> Beveridge, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 933.

<sup>2</sup> O' Malley, *Hooghly District Gazetteer*, Calcutta, 1912, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Beveridge, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 933-934.



who accompanied Bayāzid. Both the accounts agree as regards the route adopted by the second Pathan army. For reaching the head-waters of the Kanslans river Bayāzid had to march through the interior of the Jharkhand, that is to say, through Dhallhum in the Singhbhum district, through the western part of the Mayurbhanj State beyond the Simlipal range and along the northern frontier of Keonjhar. The invaders surprised and captured Cuttack without serious opposition. The account of what followed, as given in the Puri annals, appears to be more reliable than that of Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl's narrative seems to indicate that when Mukunda Deva, who was indulging in self-gratification, came to know of the presence of the enemy in the very heart of his kingdom, he could not give up his sensual pursuits but sent two of his generals, Jihata Rai and Durga Punj, to oppose them, and only awoke to a real sense of his danger when his officers played false. A man like Mukunda Deva who had won the throne by his own exertions only nine years before, could hardly have been so blind as not to see that a Pathan army marching on Cuttack from the rear demanded his presence. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that the story given in the Puri annals is the more accurate one. Mukunda Deva was himself besieged at Kotasarma when Bayāzid and Kala Pahar surprised Cuttack. Abul Fazl's Jihata Rai is probably no other than Ramachandra Bhañja, the commandant of Sarangarh. As Sarangarh is only a few miles from Cuttack, it was incumbent on Ramachandra Bhañja to come to the rescue of the garrison of Cuttack when that city was besieged by the Pathans. Instead of doing so, and perceiving that the fall of Cuttack meant the fall of Mukunda Deva, he proclaimed himself king. In this desperate condition, Mukunda Deva had no other course open to him but to seek the assistance of the invaders against the rebel. Bayāzid knew the value of an alliance with the king of Orissa in view of the impending struggle with the Mughal empire, and readily agreed to help Mukunda Deva. But the unfortunate death of Mukunda Deva frustrated the scheme.

Mukunda Deva died in Śakāvda 1490 (A. D. 1568) and then, after disposing of Raghu Bhañja Chhota Rae, Kala Pahra led his famous expedition to Puri. Abul Fazl writes in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, "Kala Pahar, the general of Sulaimān Karārānī, on his conquest of the country, flung the image (of Jagannatha) into the fire and burnt it and cast it into the sea".<sup>1</sup> The Puri annals furnish a more detailed account of the doings of Kala Pahar. It is said that during the troubles that followed the Pathan invasion Divyasimha Patnayak, the *Pariksha* or the manager of the temple of Jagannath, removed the idols to Parikud, an island in the Chilka lake, and hid them underground at Chhawali Hathipada. Kala Pahar got scent of this, proceeded to Parikuda and recovered the image. From Parikuda he returned to Puri, plundered the stores (*bāvana-koṭi bhandāra*), damaged the great temple up to the *amalaka* stone, disfigured all the images and uprooted the Kalpavṛkṣa tree and set fire to it after covering it with horse's dung. The image of Jagannath was then conveyed to the bank of the Ganges and thrown into fire. It is added that the son of Kala Pahar cast the half-burnt image into the Ganges. In one manuscript, D(12), the proper name of Kala Pahar is given as Alahadād.

Though the history of the Pathan conquest of Orissa as told in the Puri annals agrees in the main with the account of Abul Fazl, there is considerable difference between the Akbarnama and the annals regarding the history of the subsequent period. Kala Pahar's expedition to the Puri district of Orissa was a mere raid. Soon after he turned his back, Ramachandra Deva carved out a kingdom in southern Orissa with Khurda as its capital. In manuscripts A and D(10) Ramachandra Deva is called the son of Danai Vidyādhara who was the right-hand man of Govinda Deva (Vidyādhara) and was put to death by Mukunda Deva. But in B and C(2) Ramachandra Deva is said to be the son of one Vira Pehara of the same Bhoi family. One Visara Mahanti followed the image of Jagannath to

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<sup>1</sup> Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 128.



Bengal and recovered the *Bramha* or the holy object deposited in the image and brought it back to Orissa. Ramachandra Deva of Khurda put the holy object in a new image and re-inaugurated the regular worship of Jagannatha. Sulaimān Kararānī died towards the end of 1572 A.D. and in the following year Akbar sent an expedition to conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa under Munim Khan with Raja Todar Mal as second in command. Daud, son of Sulaimān Kararānī, ultimately took refuge in Orissa. He was defeated by the imperialists at Tukarai (Mughalmari) in the Balasore district on the 3rd March, 1575. Raja Todar Mal pursued Daud up to Bhadrak and was then recalled by Munim Khan who concluded a treaty with the Pathan chief. In manuscript B it is said that Todar Mal went to Puri and at the request of the Brahmans, nobles and monks, conferred on Ramachandra Deva the kingdom of Orissa. But this is not credible, for Abul Fazl makes no reference to it. When Todar Mal was in Orissa, Cuttack was held by Daud. The struggle between the Pathans and the imperialists in Orissa that went on from 1575 to 1592 A.D. till Raja Man Singh finally conquered the province, gave Ramachandra Deva time to consolidate his kingdom. The story of the subjugation of Raja Ramachandra Deva by Raja Man Singh is thus narrated in the Puri annals :—

“ In the 12th Aṅka (10th year) of Ramachandra Deva a son of Telinga Mukunda Deva complained to the Padsha of Delhi. The Padsha sent Raja Man Singh to Orissa saying, ‘ He who is the leader (*nāṅka*) of Orissa should be made the Raja (of Orissa).’ Raja Man Singh came to Puri accompanied by the son of Mukunda Deva. Ramachandra Deva met him. When the *Chandana yātra* was celebrated, the priests asked Man Singh, ‘ Whom should we give the *gadi prasāda*, “share of offerings to the God due to the occupant of the gadi or throne”’. Man Singh had then by him both Ramachandra Deva and the son of Mukunda Deva. He looked at both and said to the priests, ‘ Bring the *gadi prasāda*.’ The priests brought the *gadi prasāda* accordingly. In the

presence of the goddess Bimala Raja Man Singh offered the *gadiprasāda* to Ramachandra Deva, and made him Raja of Orissa. He conferred Ali on the son of Mukunda Deva. Thus was the kingdom divided."

Abul Fazl's account of the subjugation of southern Orissa by Raja Man Singh is quite different. The Raja first invaded Orissa in 1590 A.D. Qutlu, who was then the head of the Afghans and was in possession of Orissa, advanced to meet the imperial army but died before any decisive engagement could take place. Khwāja 'Isā, the guardian of Nasir, the young son of Qutlu, sought for peace. An agreement was made, one among the conditions being "that Jagannath, which is a famous temple, and its environs should be made crown land."<sup>1</sup> As long as Khwāja 'Isā was alive, the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled. "When he died (in 1592 A.D.), the wicked Afghans laid hold of the temple of the worship of Jagannath, and opened the hand of plunder against the country of Hamir, who had for long time been obedient (to Akbar)."<sup>2</sup> Raja Man Singh again invaded Orissa in 1592 and defeated the Pathans at Malnapar (?). Jellasore was occupied on the following day. When the victorious Raja reached Bhadrak, it was reported to him that the Pathans had assembled in the fort of Cuttack. Raja Ramachandra Deva of Khurda, who then held Sarangarb, was friendly to the Pathans. The fort of Al was surrendered to the imperialists by a Pathan chief. "Near Kalkalghāti, the Tila Raja, who is a distinguished landowner in the part, joined the victorious army." This Tila Raja is probably the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva who, according to the Puri annals, complained to the Padsha of Ielhi, and on whom Raja Man Singh conferred the fort of Al. As Al had just been surrendered to Man Singh by the Pathans, it is very probable that the Tila Raja (Telinga Raja) received it as a reward for his loyalty. Man Singh now began his campaign

<sup>1</sup> Beveridge, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 880.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 934.

against the newly established principality of Khurda. Abul Fazl writes :—

From Cuttack Raja Man Singh “went off to pay his devotions at Jagannath. His idea was that he would come near to Rajah Ram Cand, and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him (?). When his thought (i.e. devotions at Jagannath) had been realized, he returned and took up his quarters near Salī (?). Every day active men went forth and inflicted chastisement. In consequence of counsels he (Rajah Ram Cand) became obedient, and sent his son Birbal with presents. The Rajah returned to Cuttack and established the foot of conquest near the fort of Sārangarh.”<sup>1</sup>

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“Rajah Mān Singh summoned him (Rajah Rām cand) and he objected. The Rajah from inappreciativeness consigned his goodnesses to oblivion and sent Jagat Singh, Mīr Sharif Sarmadī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Barkhūrdār, Abu-l-baqā, Mahmūd Beg Slāmlū, Sīhābu-d-dīn Diwāna and others to wage war on him. A commotion arose. Rām Cand entered the fort of Khurda which was the strongest of his fortresses. The imperialists took up their quarters close by, and proceeded to attack the country. The forts Sahajpal (?), Khāragarh, Kālūpara, Kahnān Longarh, Bhūnmāl, and many populated places fell into possession. On hearing of this, H.M.—who appreciated dignities—became angry, and issued censures. The Rajah recalled his troops, and apologised. Rām Cand, on seeing the graciousness of H.M., took the thought of paying his respects. On 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah (Mān Singh), and was treated with much respect.”<sup>2</sup>

From this account it is evident that it was not Raja Man Singh who conferred the principality on Ramachandra Deva, as the compilers of the Puri annals state. Ramachandra Deva was already in possession of a principality which extended as far as

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 941.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 987-968.

Sarangarh on the Mahanadi about 5 miles south-west of Cuttack. Man Singh wanted to snatch it away from him probably with a view to make it over to the Tila Raja, but was prevented from doing so by Akbar. Not only had Man Singh to leave Ramachandra Deva in possession of the Khurda state, but he also gave the latter the fort of Manpur between Orissa and Telingāna.<sup>1</sup> Bhavani Charan has recorded that in the second aṅka or the first year of the reign of Ramachandra Deva of Khurda the Raja ordered Vateśvar Mahānti to compile the annals. This statement appears to be substantially true. The annals were probably compiled for the first time in the beginning of the reign of Ramachandra Deva, and we have therefore accurate account of the events that happened before his accession. But the history of the reign of Ramachandra Deva must have been compiled long after and by persons who could not even definitely ascertain the father's name of that king. We have therefore rather a distorted version of the history of Ramachandra Deva in the Puri annals.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 969.

### **III.—Notes on Indian Architecture**

**By Manomohan Ganguly, Vidyaratna, B.E.**

Rajagriha, or rather the whole area from Giriyek to Rajgir, continued to be an important place of pilgrimage down to the time of the Pala kings of Bengal. We find here the remains of elaborately carved pillars of the Gupta period with an octagonal shaft and a square base containing semi-circular panels showing the figure of Kirttimukha over rectangular ones in which are depicted scenes from the Mahābhārata or the Purāṇas, and if a generous donor like Sir Ratan Tata of Bombay provides funds for undertaking the excavations of this area, sufficient data may be gathered for an architectural history at least of the later period.

The forts of Warangal and Vijaynagar connected with each other by an architectural relation though so far apart are worth a study which is sure to throw a flood of light on the architectural history of Southern India from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. While travelling in the massive fort of Warangal I was struck with the mass of ruins scattered here and there testifying to the artistic splendour of the different dynasties having characteristic features, the site presenting a strange and weird aspect.

There are certain local or provincial difficulties. It is easier to study the different periods of architectural history in Southern India than in Upper India. The Southern Indian temples by reason of the accretions or additions for several centuries of subsidiary buildings clustering round the central ones furnish a continuity in the history of South Indian architecture; it is very convenient to study the different forms of architecture in one place betraying the peculiarities of

different periods and different dynasties even prevailing at the same time. In the Varadarāja temple at Kañchī or Conjeeveram, for instance, we notice a continuity maintained for several centuries from the period of the Cholas down to the present day. We find the simple pillars of the Chola period belonging to the age of Kulatunga Chola, the great king, otherwise called Tribhubana Chakravartī Kavirāja Keśari Varmā existing side by side with pillars of the Vijayanagarian type consisting of a cluster of thin slender pillars separated by pierced slabs. We find the indications of the Pallava period adapted and modified in later years. We find in the temples of Vaikantha Perumal at Uttaramallur, otherwise called Uttaramerucaturvedi-māṅgalam, the peculiarities of the times of Pallava, Gaṅga-Pallava and the Chola dynasties. There is, however, no structure above ground as far as I am aware, in Northern India where a continuity is so manifest as in a South Indian example; but there is reason to believe that if we carry on digging operations on a larger scale we shall come across remains which will reveal a chronological sequence in a remarkable degree. I may refer to the excavations at Bhītā which disclose an architectural scale ranging from the Pre-Mauryan to the late Mediæval through the Gupta period.

In India, Architecture has always been the aesthetic expression of the religious spirit; it has mainly been confined to the limits of the Vimānam; its original developments were theocratic in character. This was the case in Europe as well until the end of the thirteenth century when it emancipates itself from the control of the church. Since the organisation of the Feudal system at the beginning of the eleventh century the church lost its purely ecclesiastical character; it aimed at temporal power more or less and thus its interests clashed with those of the nobles. The people took advantage of this quarrel and began gradually to emancipate themselves, and thus sprang up within the communes the lay corporation for various trades and guilds including the painters, sculptors, architects, etc. These organisations, however, could not easily divest themselves



of their theocratic character by their being so long attached to the monasteries; from this period the development of architecture in Europe was directed through different channels, whereas in India it continued to maintain its character as evenly as before. There was never a quarrel between the Indian religious organisations and the laity. This fact should be borne in mind before we attempt at understanding the significance, genesis and development of Indian architecture; this is one of the reasons why civil or municipal architecture could not thrive so well in India, not finding a congenial soil, the whole energy of the nation being directed to the improvement and embellishment of temples. Not a single palace of any of the old or mediæval kings is found to exist but we find thousands of old temples towering in their grandeur though shorn of their original magnificence. Not a vestige of the old palaces of the kings of Orissa is traceable but the temples of Konârka, Lingarâja, Jagannâth, etc., still attest their former glory though in ruins or comparative insignificance. The reason is not far to seek. To construct temples, as has been laid down in the Samhitâs, is an act of merit enabling the donor to reach Heaven, or the abode of his Iṣṭam enshrined in the sanctum. Thus we find in the Yama Samhitâ—

*Kṛtvā devālayam sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya cha devatā m |  
vidhāya vidhivachchitraṃ tallokaṃ vindate dhruvam||*

We find the same in other Samhitâs, and this has been emphasised by religious preachers and āchāryas in all ages; we find this idea among the Buddhists and the Jainas, the two branches of Hinduism. It has been repeated with much emphasis in the canonical works such as *Māthapraṭiṣṭhādītatvam*, *Vāstuyāgatātvaṃ* by Raghunandana, the great lawgiver of the fifteenth century.

It is for this spirit that we find the country teeming with temples and vimānas, and it is for this that we never find anybody in any age raising his voice of protest against the artistic magnificence of the temples as was done by St. Bernard in France who inaugurated a style of rigid severity



contrasted with the splendour of the abbeys under the order of Cluny.

We find in the Ain-i-Akbari that the king Langoolia Narasinha Deva spent twelve years' revenue of Orissa for the construction of the present temple of the Sun-God at Konrāka, the annual revenue at the time, i.e. in the thirteenth century, being three crores of rupees. The kings and the nobles were content to live in palaces which were more or less like *chateau forts* in France before the thirteenth century, meant for protection from danger and having evidently no pretension to an equal measure of aesthetic significance. The repairs of the temples is also laid down in the Samhitās as an equally meritorious act as the construction thereof, for we find in the Viṣṇu Samhitā—

Kṛpārāmataḍāgeṣu devāyataneṣu cha |

*Punaḥsaṃskāra-kṛtvā cha labhate maulikamphalam* ||

Fergusson apparently owing to his ignorance of this important religious ideal incorrectly remarked that if a Hindu temple or Muhammadan mosque went to decay no one ever repaired it like the Jainas but its materials were ruthlessly employed to build a new temple or a new mosque. What are the temples of Jagannath at Puri and the Sun-God at Konārka? What is the present temple of Somnath even though it was damaged by Mahmud of Ghazni?

The architectural traditions in India have all along been theocratic in character; we have accordingly no such thing as Renaissance similar to what we find in Italy in the fifteenth century, or a little later in other parts of Europe. The same canonised system of design and construction is noticeable in all ages, and hence the necessity of Renaissance or reverting back to the classical style, or any style, never arose. "Back to Rome" was the cry of the Renaissance period in Europe, but in India we find a steady continuity of the same ideas, even the architectural and sculptural details derived from the same basic principles are noticed everywhere. We find everywhere in

India the deep projecting cornice or drip stone producing an excellent effect of light and shade. The slab cornice called Chhaja supported by brackets, noticeable on almost every structure of Northern India, is found in the deeply recessed curvilinear form projecting from every structure of Southern India dated so far back as the time of the Pallavas, long before the birth of the Prophet of Islam and so nicely elaborated later on in the time of the kings of Vijayanagar. From the excavations at Bhita identified by General Cunningham to be the place where Mahāvira Svāmī, the last Jaina Tirthankara flourished, it has been ascertained with some degree of probability by Sir John Marshall that there is a great similarity of design existing between the flanking defences with entrances in the fourth century before the Christian era and the approaches to later Indian fortresses.

The Chalukyan architectural features showing the cusped arches issuing from the distended jaws of Makara at the two springing points culminating at the apex in the mouth of Kirttimukha, a grotesque mask with tusks, goggle eyes and a pair of horns is a feature noticeable throughout Upper India as well ; we find the representation of this conventional Makara in the early sculptures of Sāñchī, Bhārut, Amarāvati, Bodhi Gaya and even of Gāndhāra. This decorative device is found in the monuments of Java and Sumatra, and the adoption of the same conventional form goes a great way in indicating the same uniformity in the basic principles. The presence of the same pendant chain-and-bell ornament in pillars, the same āmalaka representation in the śikhara or spire, both in the Chalukyan and Upper Indian styles, are no accidents in Indian Architecture. Even in some structures of the Muhammadan period the device of "chain and bells" is found resorted to near the necking of columns.

The ground plan of a temple has been prescribed to be square in all the Sanskrit treatises that I have come across. In the Agni Purāṇam, Matsya Purāṇam, Devī Purāṇam, Garuḍa Purāṇam, etc., we find the above references ; in the Vāstu Vidyā

compiled by the Government of Travancore from several Sanskrit manuscripts written in Tamil we find a similar reference.

The square plan, however, becomes rectangular by the addition of other appurtenances such as the Jagamohan (Audience Chamber), Nāṭmandir (Dancing Hall), Bhogamandir (Refectory) in the North Indian style and Antarāla (ante-chamber), Ardha Maṇḍapa and Mahāmaṇḍapa in that of Southern India. The square form often assumes a quasi-cruciform plan by the addition of the porches to the four sides. Again, by the provision of pilasters the simple outline is often broken, affording great architectural possibilities. The classification of temples is based upon the number of pilasters used which I have invariably found to be odd and never even in any part of India, the number being 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9. Most of the temples have 5 pilasters and are technically called Pañcharatha. A temple of 9 pilasters is seldom met with; what I have seen is actually Saptaratha or a combination of 7 pilasters showing two false or pseudo-pilasters. Indian Architecture being theocratic in character, it will be interesting to note that the temples showing different numbers of pilasters from 9 to 3 are assigned to the different units of the Hindu social fabric, I mean the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, the Śūdras. The triratha is thus assigned to the Śūdras. It is for this reason that I have not come across a single triratha temple in Orissa which does not show palpable trace of Buddhist or Jaina influence. The Jaina temple of Akkan busti at Sravan Belgola is triratha.

In the Chalukyan style we usually notice the form of a cross by the triple arrangement of temples, the plan of which became star-shaped in later years by the salient and re-entering angles of the triangular projections, their vertices forming a circle. It may be remarked in this connection that the plan of a triple temple is not South Indian exclusively; it is found in North India as well. The temple of Vastupal at Girnar, built in 1230, bears a striking resemblance to the triple temple of the Chalukyan style; the difference in this form is that a verandah runs round the set of three parts with a door of each of the

two-side-temples opening into it. In the Chalukyan style only one door leads to the side temple from the Ardhamandapa but for all that the resemblance is striking. The star-shaped design of the Chalukyan style is noticed in a modified form in the sanctum of the temple of Govinda Deva at Brindaban, or in the ruined Vishnuvite temple in the Nurpur fort in the Kangra Valley. The ruined seats or "baithaks" so commonly found in the Hoysala style are found in the above two temples of Upper India. We sometimes notice an octagonal ground plan of the temple by the simple contrivance of removing the four angles of the square, the fundamental type; a combination of an octagon with a square, or rectangle is also noticed as in the temple of Jugal Kishore at Brindaban. We find a nice combination of the square, cruciform and octagon in the elegant temple of Govinda Deva at Brindaban from which Fergusson very aptly remarks that "Even a European architect might borrow a few hints".

What has been said above applies to the astylar form. The columnar style has by an artistic arrangement and disposition of columns, particularly in the octagonal form, has expressed itself in various types derived from the octagon. We thus find an arrangement of 8, 12, 20, 36 and 56 pillars having an octagon of columns in the centre, the outline presenting a serrated appearance by right-angular projections. The whole of this complex form can, however, be inscribed in a square, the fundamental plan recognised in the Purāṇas or Śilpa Śāstras.

The plan of residential houses depended no doubt upon the circumstances of the owners themselves. The square form has however been prescribed above all; even in the Vāstu-Yāga-Tattvam, a canonical work of the fifteenth century by Raghunādana, the square form has been recommended.

*Prasāde tu chatuṣṣaṣṭhī revāsīti padam grhe |*

*Chaturasṛkṛte kṣetre chāṣṭadhā navadhā kṛte ||*

A residential house has been divided in Raja-Mārtanda into the sixteen following classes: (a) *āyata*, oblong; (b) *chaturasra*,

square ; (c) *vṛtta*, circular ; (d) *bhadrāsana*, rectangular with a rectangular or square courtyard similar to the Roman atrium ; (e) *chakra*, discus-shaped ; (f) *viśamabāhu*, long with two unequal wings ; (g) *trīkoṇaka*, triangular ; (h) *sakaṭākṛta*, cart-shaped ; (i) *daṇḍa*, staff like, i.e. barrack like ; (j) *pañavasthāna*, quadrangular with two opposite concave sides ; (k) *brhanmukha*, wide-fronted ; (l) *muraṇḍa*, like the musical instrument ; (m) *vyajana*, fan-shaped ; (n) *kūrma*, circular with projection like tortoise ; (o) *dhanuḥ*, arched like a bow ; (p) *sūrpa*, horse-shoe shaped. Some more forms have been prescribed in *Viśvakarmaprākāśa*. It may be interesting to note that Sir John Marshall in his excavations at Bhītā near Allahabad has discovered the remains of a building of the *bhadrāsana* class belonging to the fourth century before Christ, having a courtyard with twelve rooms disposed round it. It may also be remarked that this term is even now used by an inhabitant of Bengal to indicate a dwelling-house and I need hardly point out that a dwelling-house with a courtyard is a characteristic of Bengal though this architectural feature is fast disappearing in Calcutta being replaced by a massive block of buildings with side and back spaces or a building of the hill station type. It may in this connection be mentioned that the courtyard was a characteristic feature of buildings of the Romans out of which the Atrium Vestae, or the Hall of the Vestal Virgins, the house of Livia at Rome and the House of Pansa at Pompeii are the most interesting.

Having very briefly described the ground plan I would mention some important principles underlying the constructive peculiarities of Hindu Architecture. The statical equilibrium of Indian structures is due to the combined action of simple vertical action and re-action, one dead weight carrying another without the support of balance as would be the case in an arcual system where a weak element is introduced by the uncertain nature of the inclined thrust. The Hindus are found to span large spaces by lintels or architraves which are subjected to cross or transverse strain, calling into play the forces of tension and compression. I would accordingly call the Hindu



method of construction a tension-compressile system. This system has involved a waste of materials in many cases. A Hindu cannot, however, be invariably charged with being uneconomical in his design. On exposing the foundations of the structures of the Mauryan period at Bhita at Allahabad it has been found that the foundation below the doorways has not been carried down so deep as in other portions, evidently keeping in view the less intensity of pressure on soil.

The Indian architects are accused, not without reason, of making their wall unnecessarily thick thus involving an unnecessary waste of materials. I have up till now been able to study carefully the walls of only a particular variety of Indian temples called the Pida Dewl, a cubical block surmounted by a pyramidal tower consisting of horizontal slabs of stone with their ends turned up. However uneconomical the architects might have been in their design, I have been struck with a relation subsisting between the thickness of walls and the height of the edifice in Orissa. I have been able to determine an equation expressing the relation with co-efficients ranging between certain limits.

The Hindus are always characterised by an aversion to an arch which never sleeps as they say. They were not found to use it as a constructive element even though they were acquainted with its principle and use. That they knew the use of the arch will be seen by a reference to the Arthasāstra of Kaṭilya. The roof of the low level chamber formed of lancet arches or the vaulted staircase at Takhti-Bahi are all based on the method of corbelling. The arches or domes that we come across in old structures are invariably horizontal and not radiating and composed of wedge-shaped voussoirs tending to converge to a point. The conditions of equilibrium or stability in case of a radiating arch are complex owing to the uncertain nature and intensity of the several stresses called into play; the architects of old days, anxious as they were for ensuring the permanence of their structures, discarded this architectural element as a source of weakness and instability. The high



*sikhara* or spire of the Indian style is an outcome of a constructive necessity inspired by the method of roofing spaces by means of projecting corners of masonry called corbelling, till the open space is sufficiently reduced so that it might be covered by a piece of stone slab. This may be effected in various ways. The angles of the square may be spanned by triangular blocks and the process may be continued till a square opening is left on the top which may be covered by a stone slab. This method of spanning the corners of a square is the logical precursor of the octagonal dome supported on eight or twelve columns so nicely elaborated by the Jains and resorted to by the followers of Islam in constructing their mausolea and mosques in later years.

From the constructive point of view I do not find any difference between the Hindu style and that practised by the Jains. Whether in Guzerat or Rajputana, Mysore or Kanara, the Jaina style is essentially Brāhmanical in character, form and method of construction; even the same insignificant details, both architectural and sculptural, are noticeable examples of both the classes. In Southern India the similarity is greater than in Northern India where the Indian kings or chiefs are found to be patrons of both Brāhmanism and Jainism. The inscriptions of Kulatunga Chola, the great Chola King, and Kṛṣṇa Deva Mahārāya, the great king of Vijayanagar, are inscribed on the torus of the Upapīṭham of the verandah separating the Ardhamandapa from the Mahāmāṇḍapa of the temple of Vardhamāna Svāmī in the village called Tiruparuti Kundaram near Conjeeveram on the other side of the Vegavati. The inscriptions of these two very kings are noticed in the Vishnuvite temple of Varadarāja at Conjeeveram. Even scenes from the Śrīmat-Vāgavatam are depicted in paint on the ceiling of the Mahāmāṇḍapa of the Jaina temple.

We find here the same South Indian arrangement of Garbha Gṛiha (sanctum), Antarāla (central chamber), Ardhamāṇḍapa (ante-chamber) and Mahāmāṇḍapa. We find the same type of Prākāra Maṇḍapas or circumambient cells which

are noticeable in even the earliest examples of the Pallava style down to those of the Vijayanagar type.

The temples of Śāntiśvara and Pārsvanātheśvara at Halebid in Mysore, though in a bad state of preservation, bear a close resemblance to any Hindu temple of the Hoysala Ballala kings. Though devoid of elaboration of ornamental sculpture on the exterior, these Jaina temples have the characteristic Hoysala pillars, inclined parapets, highly carved ceiling pendants, technically called Bhubaneśvarī in Mysore, pierced screen flanking the doorway, etc. as are noticeable in the Śaiva temples of Hoysalesvara or Kedāreśvaru at Halebid, the Vishnuvite temple of Channa Kesava at Belur, the Śaivite temple of Brāhmnēśvara at Kikkeri, thirty-two miles north-west of Seringapatam, and also at the Vishnuvite temple of Persana Channa Kesava at Somnathpur in the district of Mysore. If we look at the Jaina temple at Lakkundi in the district of Dharwar we cannot declare it to be a Jaina temple at all unless we are so told. It is a mixture of the Pallava and the Chalukyan styles belonging to the tenth or eleventh century. We thus find a uniformity in the Jaina-Brahmanical architectural traditions of Southern India, though some divergence is noticeable in Upper India; still there is a harmony existing indicating their common origin, a direct descent from the same parent stock.

It is very interesting to note that the form of the Buddhist chaitya hall was appropriated by the Dravidians professing both the Brāhmanic and Jaina faiths in constructing a peculiar type of temple which is technically called Ekanāśā. This type is not, however, usually met with, and want of knowledge of technics has led many authorities on Indian Architecture including Dr. Burgess to believe that these very structures were originally Buddhist chaitya halls subsequently appropriated for a different form of worship. The Śaiva temple of Kapoteśvara at Chezarla in the Krishna district has been erroneously taken by Burgess and Rea to be an old Buddha chaitya subsequently appropriated for Brāhmanical worship.

A similar apsidal Jaina temple of vaulted roof is to be found dedicated to Puṣpadanta Nāth near Conjeeveram.

The study of Indian Architecture would be incomplete if no reference were made to the Bengali style of temples which is rather a thing of recent growth. I have searched in vain for a very old temple of the Bengali type. There is none extant older than the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. but there is no doubt that there had been very old temples in Bengal for we find that the Darga at Pandua in the district of Hooghly of Zafar Khan Gazi, the contemporary of the first Muhammadan king Shamsuddin Firoz Shah, was built in the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. out of the materials taken from Hindu temples. A reference to *Bāṅglaghar* is found in the songs of Mānikhāṇḍ as follows—

*Bāṛdhilām Bāṅglā ghar nāhi pāda Kālī ।*

*Em in bayase chhāḍi jāyo amār bṛthā bhāva rāpi. ॥*

Though the Bengali style of temple building has not a very ancient pedigree it should not be dismissed with scorn. It has a peculiarity of its own not to be met with in any part of India. It is a thing confined to the province of Bengal, illustrating the influence on materials of architecture. This irregularity in origin and type has lent a special charm to its study. The Bengali style with its sanctum having panelled mural decoration, cusped and pointed arches and short heavy pillars is divided into two classes based on the method of roofing, e.g. (1) hut-roofed and (2) doubled roofed. These two divisions again admit of various subdivisions as per the number of towers, śikhara or rathas as they are called, e.g. pañcharatna, navaratna, etc. It may be mentioned incidentally that the temples of this class are built in bricks, both thick and thin. We find in the Bengali temple an obvious construction of Hindu-Saracenic architectural traditions that can be traced back to the Adina Masjid, or the Ekalakhi Mausoleum at Pandua, the Qudam-i-Rasul at Gaur. It may be mentioned here in the language of Sir John Marshall that the materials employed at the Adina Masjid consisted largely of the remains of Hindu temples, and many of

the carvings from the temples have been used as facings of dome, arches and pillars. It seems probable that the architects who erected the monuments at Gaur and Pandua drew their architectural inspiration as well from the Hindu models of the preceding period when the kings of Sena and Pala dynasties ruled.

However exclusive and self-contained the traditions of a nation may be it is impossible to escape extraneous influence in some way or other. This inherent nature of a thing to combine with another, the tendency of the homogeneous to be heterogeneous is a law that governs not only the physical and the physiological but also the psychological world. Hence the foreign ideas and ideals creep in unnoticed, combine with the original and form a compound which may have a constancy of composition like a chemical compound or may merely be a mechanical mixture. This is well illustrated in architecture which manifests a particular phase of the human mind. If we examine some Brahmanical or Jaina temples of the sixteenth or the seventeenth century, we shall invariably find in them an adaptation of Muhammadan decorative devices and even constructive peculiarities. The ornamentations noticed in the pilasters of the ruined Vishnavite temple in the Nurpur Fort in "Kangra" show a marked similarity in design to some of the early Mogul buildings in the Lahore Fort. The decorations round the panels on the outer face of the temple show both foliated and geometrical devices as noticed in the work of the Mogul buildings.

Those who look upon Indian Architecture in the light of technique, arrangement or mannerism only are wholly mistaken. Without minimising the importance of the above method of study and criticism, it may be said that this does not acquaint us with the real nature of the thing.

There are three stand-points from which Indian Architecture may be studied: Technical or Scientific, Aesthetic and Ethical. These have been described by Ruskin as the three virtues of

Architecture. For instance, if we study the Renaissance Architecture, we cannot but be struck by a sense of worldliness or pride pervading the structures, but for all that no one fails to see the design elaborated by a process of aesthetic reasoning. This reasoning is so simple that it appeals even to a casual observer.

A pessimist as a philosopher, a Hindu is not so as an artist. As an artist he spiritualises matter and thus embodies architectural idealism in different forms which never oppress the imagination by its solid reality.

The architecture of the ancient Hindus is pervaded by a spirit of earnestness and self-sacrifice, the temple being as it were an offering, a gift to the deity, the *Iṣṭam* enshrined in the sanctum and as such we notice a profusion of decoration condemned by Fergusson as "over-decorated ugliness," a remark exemplifying the deadning effect of the idealisation of the principle of utility, for architecture is not construction, the beaver's art, but is according to Ruskin, "the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man, for whatsoever use, that the sight of these may contribute to his mental health, power and pleasure."

The structures of the present day illustrate a violation of this fundamental canon of architecture by allowing the constructive element to override the aesthetic side, indicating the nemesis of the decorative principle forming a vital part of ancient and mediæval Indian Architecture.

However hampered by tradition or fettered by conventionality ancient Indian Architecture may be, we find evident and clear indications stamping it with originality, vigour and genius. Ours of the present day appears as one badly imitated, unsuited to the climate and the traditions of the past.



## **IV-Zibunnisa Begum and Diwan-i-Mukhfi**

**By Hafiz Shamsuddin Ahmad, M.A., B.L.**

Zibunnisa was Aurangzeb's first child by his wife Dilras Banu. She was born in the year 1048 A. H. When she was old enough to begin learning, she was placed under the charge of Hafiza Maryam, a highly educated lady and mother of a great noble, Inayatullah Khan. She first learnt the Quran and got it by heart. She also learnt Persian and Arabic from some of the best scholars of the day, notably among them, Mulla Sai'd Ashraf Mazandrani. He was a Persian, came to India at the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign and was appointed a tutor to Zibunnisa. Mulla Ashraf was a great poet. It was through his contact that Zibunnisa cultivated a taste for poetry and probably herself became a good poetess.

The historians are agreed that Zibunnisa Begum passed the greater part of her life in literary pursuits and was a great patron of letters. Her court was a sort of Literary Academy in which flourished the best geniuses of the time. She had established a department for the translation of classical books and for writing original works. To this department was attached a splendid library "the like of which was," in the words of Maasir-i-Alamgiri, "never seen before." It was owing to her literary taste that her father's austerity and apathy to fine arts could not much tell on the growth of those arts in the country during his reign.

Many books are popularly believed to have been written by Zibunnisa, the most famous of them being Diwan i-Mukhfi, Zibut-Tafasir and Zibul Munshaat. The last of these, no doubt, belongs to the Begum, and according to the testimony of Tazkirat-ul-Gharāib, is a collection of her letters. The authorship of Zibut-Tafasir has been wrongly imputed to her by some writers. It is a Persian translation of the well-known Tafsir-i-Kabir of Imam Rāzi, and was made by Mulla Saif-ud-din



Ardabili in obedience to the Begum's order and was named after her. Controversy has, however, been raging of late over the authorship of *Diwán-i-Mukhfi*. The popular opinion has tended to attribute it to Zibunnisa, and many authors, both Indian and European, including Dr. Springer, have held the same view. But a thoughtful section of the scholars has preferred to dissent from this view owing to absence of any positive evidence to that effect. An attempt has been made in the present article to decide the question by the collection of internal evidence as afforded by *Diwán-i-Mukhfi* itself, and this evidence points unmistakably to the fact that the author of the book, whoever else he might be, was certainly not Zibunnisa Begum. As to the real author, we have not sufficient material to establish his identity, though there are passages in the *Diwán* which throw some light on the subject and will be discussed in their proper places. It may, however, be mentioned in passing that several memoirs of Persian poets speak of a certain Mukhfi of Risht who flourished about the same time as the Mukhfi in question and may be the same man.

But before I proceed to lay the internal evidence before the readers, I propose to give a résumé of the very meagre external evidence on which *Diwán-i-Mukhfi* may be inferred to be the work of some one other than Zibunnisa Begum.

(1) In the first place, it cannot be asserted with certainty whether Zibunnisa was a poet or not. Contemporary historians, e.g. Sher Khan Lodi, Afzal-ud-din Sarkush, Kháfí Khan, etc. are entirely silent on the point. And though the Begum has enjoyed a wide reputation of being a poet, and it may be conceded that she was one, yet no chronologist ever mentions to have seen her *Diwán* (collection of poems). Maulavi Ghulám Ali Azad quotes only two of her couplets in his *Yad-i-Baiza*. Ahmad Ali Sandilwi, the author of *Makhzanul-Gharáib*, declares that he nowhere saw her *Diwán*, though he saw in a book a select collection of her poems. This was not, however, at all authentic, as many a line which he knew to belong to other poets were therein written under her name.

(2) Though we find in some histories and memoirs that Zibunnisa was a poet, it is nowhere mentioned that she had adopted "Mukhfi" as her pen-name, which is very singular and also significant. The fact that the word Zibunnisa or its abbreviation, Zib, generally occurs as her pen-name in some of her best known poems, and not the word Mukhfi, also lends support to the view that Mukhfi was not her pen-name.

(3) There is reason to believe that Zibunnisa's poems, if any, were lost in her life-time. It is stated in Makhzanul-Gharāib that Zibunnisa's note-book (probably containing her poems) once fell from the hand of a certain maid-servant Iradat-Fahm into a deep reservoir of water and was lost. The maid was very much scared and dared not break the news to the Princess. She, however, found an intercessor in Mulla Said Ashraf, Zibunnisa's tutor, who composed a lengthy apology in verse and secured pardon for Iradat's fault.

(4) The various copies of Diwān-i-Mukhfi in manuscript or in print do not clearly disclose the identity of its author, and if some of them have got something to say, it is all popular fiction. The edition published by the Nizāmi Press, Cawnpore, in the year 1283 A. H., i.e. some sixty years back, states that the author of the book is Princess Zibunnisa Begum. But Nawal Kishore's edition of 1915 A. D., declares the book to belong to a Persian poet Mukhfi, while an earlier edition from the same press alleges him to have come from Risht, a well-known place in Persia.

(5) It is possible that inspite of the destruction of Zibunnisa's poems in her life-time in the way mentioned above, some were saved or were composed later on. By general acceptance, a few short pieces from her pen appears to have come down to us. Diwān-i-Mukhfi, however, does not contain all of them. In fact some of the best known have been left out. For example :

به‌کند دستم که خم در گردن یارم نشد  
 کوربه چشمی که لذت گیر دیدارم نشد  
 صد بهار آخوشد و هرگل بفرق جاگرفت  
 غنچه باغ دل ما زیب دستارم نشد

which rendered into English reads thus :—

“ May that arm which did not girdle round a neck be broken ;  
May that eye which did not enjoy the look (of the beloved)  
be better blind.

Hundreds of springs passed away and every flower found  
a place on some head,

But the bud of my heart never adorned a turban.”

Here it may be noted that the word Zib occurs as the pen-name of the writer and not the word Mukhfi.

If we turn to the current Diwân-i-Mukhfi, we find there only three pieces which may, more or less, be ascribed to Zibunnisa Begum. The first of these runs thus :—

گرچه من لیلی اسام دل چو مجنون در هوا است  
سر بصر مرا می زخم لیکن حیا زنجیر پاست  
در نهان خونیم ظاهر گرچه رنگ ناز کم  
رنگ من در من نهان چون رنگ سرخ اندر دلفاست  
دختر شایم ولیکن رو بفقر آورده ام  
زین و زینت بس هدینم نام من زین النساء است

An English rendering of the above may thus be made :—

“ Though I am Laila-natured, my heart is in love like that  
of Majnun ;

I long for the desert but my modesty claims my legs down.  
Internally I am all blood, though apparently I possess a fine  
complexion.

My colour is concealed within me as is red colour in the  
myrtle-plant.

I am the daughter of a King but I have turned my face to  
asceticism ;

Let this be all my adornment that my name is Zibunnisa.”

That this poem really belongs to Zibunnisa may readily be  
believed both because of the general trend of thoughts expressed  
and the full name mentioned. But the fact that this has some-  
how or other found a place in Diwân-i-Mukhfi does not in itself  
prove that all other poems in that book were composed by  
Zibunnisa. Another piece in Diwân known to have been written

by her is as follows :—

بابل از گل بگذرد گر در چمن ببند مرا  
 بت پرستی کے کند گر برہمن ببند مرا  
 در سخن پنهان شدم مانند بود در برگ گل  
 هر که دیدن میل دارد در سخن ببند مرا

Translated into English it reads thus :—

“If a nightingale observes me in a garden she will leave her  
 rose-flower ;  
 If a Brahmin happens to see me, he will give up worshipping  
 his idol.  
 I have hid myself in poems like odour in a rose,  
 Whosoever desires to see me, should see me through my  
 poetry.”

The above lines do not contain any pen-name, but they apparently belong to a female, presumably Zibunnisa, and beautifully depict her internal feelings so different from any thing else in the Diwān.

The third piece is rather long poem constructed on an ode of Hafiz of Shiraz, the arrangement being that every couplet of Hafiz has been added to by three further lines. The last line thus added to the last couplet of Hafiz has had different versions in different editions. In some it appears as follows :—

زیب‌الذسا مراد خود از آہ و نالہ خواست

while in others it runs thus —

مخفی مراد خویشتن از آہ و نالہ خواست

So we see that except the replacement of the pen-name and a further slight modification necessary to maintain the metre, both the lines are absolutely identical and convey exactly the same meaning which is this that Zibunnisa (or Mukhfi according to the other version) made sighs and lamentations over her (or his) desired object. From the above illustrations it is clear that even those passages which occur in the Diwān-i-Mukhfi and may justly be ascribed to Zibunnisa as her compositions bear the pen-name Zib or Zibunnisa or no name at all, and not the name of Mukhfi. In fact, there is no piece in the Diwān

bearing the pen-name Mukhfi which may, either in diction or feeling, be conceived to have been written by Zibunnisa Begum.

But all the above facts, though valuable in themselves, are not a conclusive proof of the hypothesis that Zibunnisa is not the authoress of Diwân-i-Mukhfi. A closer study of the Diwân, however, reveals the fact that Mukhfi is, not Zibunnisa Begum, but altogether a different person. The following paragraphs will illustrate and prove the above proposition.

(1) Whatever might have been the difficulties of Zibunnisa Begum owing to the austerity of her father, they were certainly not in the nature of "chill penury" of which the author of Diwân-i-Mukhfi so often complains :

بدن مفلسی خو کن مشر شرمندہ ہمت

ملاؤنگ را اگر برخوان حاتم میہمان بینی

Translation—

"Get used to poverty and don't have the shame of (being helped by) Generosity,

Though thou beholdest angels at the table of Hatim (a well-known philanthropist of the East)."

بر سفرۂ زمانہ دوں چوں مگس مباحش

مخفی زنا مرادی ایم نالہ چیتست

Translation—

"Don't be like a fly at the table of the low world.

Mukhfi! why bewail the unpropitiousness of the times?"

لائق نہ بود شکایت از دوست

سرمایۂ مفلسی چو ہر جاست

Translation—

"It is improper to complain against the Friend (God);

For, the treasure of poverty is to be found everywhere."

(2) Mukhfi declares his dislike for India in many places and is glad to leave the country :

مارستم وقت روز گاردم

در پیشہ ہند کار ما نیست

## Translation—

“I am the Rustam (a well-known fighter of Persia) of the times.

I have no business in the field of India.”

نادان اگر نبوده در ملک هند مخفی  
اجزای عمر خود را شیرازه گم نمی کرد

## Translation—

“Had not Mukhfi been a fool, he would not have lost the binding thread of the book of his life in India.”

He is happy when he goes over to Kabul :

را نشد چون غنچه دل در بهارستان هند  
رفت مرغ رح مخفی گوشه کابل گرفت

## Translation—

“The bud of his heart did not open in the spring-garden of India ;

Hence the bird of Mukhfi's spirit went away and rested in a corner of Kabul.”

He also goes on pilgrimage to Mecca. There his purse runs short so that he cannot proceed to Medina and bewails his lot :

همی کعبه که زین راه بجائی برسم  
بینوائم به طواف به نوائے برسم  
زاد راهم شده آخر شه بطحی مددے  
که ز لطف تو برهان ملائے برسم

## Translation—

“Help! O Kaba, so that I may reach some place by this way.

I am a pauper ; perchance I may get some bounty by means of my pilgrimage.

Help! O King of Batha (the Prophet Mohammad), my provisions have run out ;

I may reach a public entertainment (i.e. means) through thy kindness.”

All this does not read like the adventures of Princess Zibunnisa, the daughter of the great Mughal Emperor of India,



In fact, Zibunnisa never made a pilgrimage to the holy places in Arabia.

(3) Diwan-i-Mukhfi shows strong Shiaite tendency which Aurangzeb's daughter highly learned in Sunni doctrines and having been brought up from infancy in the same atmosphere, could hardly possess; and there is no historical evidence of her predilection to these Shiaite doctrines:

زبان در گام کش مخفی ریائی صبر در دامن  
که آخر پنجه شاه ولایت دست من گیرد

Translation—

“Mukhfi! draw thy tongue into the mouth and thy legs under the skirt,

For, ultimately, the hand of the King of Friendship (Ali—the head of the Shia sect) will hold thy arm.”

دوستی با دشمن آل پیمبر چون کنم  
من که لاف دوستی به آل حیدر می زنم

Translation—

“How can I be friendly to the enemy of the descendants of the Prophet?

When I boast of friendship towards the progeny of Haider (Ali).”

از گدایان توأم شاه خراسان مدد  
که چو مرغان حرم در حرمت جاگیرم

Translation—

“I am one of thy mendicants, O King of Khurasan (Imam Raza),

Help! so that I may take refuge in thy sanctuary like the birds of an asylum.”

(4) But the most curious and amusing thing in connection with our present enquiry is the poet's reference to the death of his sons:

مخفیا چند زجر فلک شعلہ باز  
همچو یعقوب بدل داغ پسر تازہ کنم

Translation—"O Mukhfi ! How many times am I, through  
the unkindness of the changeable sky,

To renew the wound of a son's loss in my heart, like  
Jacob ? "

Well, it is well-known that Princess Zibunnisa remained  
a celibate all her life.

(5) The writer of Diwān-i-Mukhfi is a panegyrist like other  
Persian poets and has praised big men of his time One of his  
panegyrics, for example, starts with the following lines :

خواجه چتر مراد بر سر کش

نور و روس زمانه در بر کش

Tr.—" Master ! Hold the umbrella of success on thy head :  
And take the bride of Time into thy arms ; "

and another with—

هست تا آسمان بقائے تو باد

چرخ دران کبریاے تو باد

Tr.—" Mayest thou live as long as the heavens :  
And may the sky be a porter at the gate of thy  
greatness."

He praises a certain Firoz Khan Durrani with great enthusiasm :

شکر دولت فیروز خان درانی

Tr.—" Firoz Khan Durrani, the pride of Fortune," and  
asks him to intercede on his behalf in order that he may get  
rid of the duties of secretaryship which have been imposed on  
him by the order of the Sultan (Emperor) but which are not  
congenial to his tastes :

خراب اسم عمل گشته ام راس چه کنم

که هیچ چاره ندارم ز حکم سلطانی

برید دست قضا بدوخت طالع من

یز عم جوهر ذاتم لباس دیوانی

Tr.—" I have been undone by the very name of the office,  
but what can I do ?

For, there is no remedy against the royal command.  
 The Destiny cut off my hands and my star has sewn  
 for me  
 The garment of secretaryship, inspite of my natural  
 talents."

The above episodes cannot, evidently, fit into the story of Princess Zibunnisa's life and must be regarded as part of a different drama altogether.

(6) Mukhfi also praises a certain Sultan, probably the same mentioned above :

بردر سلطان عصر حیف ندایم دگر  
 تا که رساند بعرض مقصد ارکان او  
 ثانی صاحبقران بادشه انسی رجان  
 آنکه فلک سر نهد بر خط فرمان او

Tr.—“ Alas ! I have nobody else at the gate of the Emperor  
 of the time,

Who can convey to his ears the 'objects of his  
 servants.

The second Sâhib-qerân, the ruler of the men and of  
 the genii ;

He, at whose command the sky bows its head."

Now the second Sâhib-qerân is the well-known title of Emperor Shahjahan, the first Sâhib-qerân being Temurlang. This gives us a pretty definite idea of the time when the author of Diwân-i-Mukhfi flourished. We can, therefore, safely assume that Firoz Khan Durrani who has been so lavishly praised by the poet is one of the officers of Shahjahan.

At another place the poet again refers to the " Sultan " :

بو علی روزگارم از خراسان آمده  
 از پئے امراض بردرگاه سلطان آمده

Tr.—“ I am Bu-Ali (Ibn-i-Sina, the well-known philosopher)  
 of the age, have arrived from Khurasan ;

I have come to the Emperor's court for presenting  
 my petition."

These lines, however, take us to a more important question, that of Mukhfi's native home, for, there he says that he has come from Khurasan. In continuation of the same he goes on to say further :

حیرت دارم که یارب اندرین گرداب هند  
طوطی فکرم پیے شکر زرضوان آمده  
بسکه دریا در وطن نا دیده ماتم داشتم  
تا بدامان دام چاک گردیان آمده

Tr.—“ I wonder, O God ! that in this whirlpool of India  
The parrot of my thought has come down from  
Paradise in search of sugar,  
As I have had unseen lamentations in memory of my  
native country,

The rift in my skirt has reached up to my heart.”

The above lines clearly indicate that the poet has come from Khurasan rather reluctantly to India under pressure of necessity and feels the separation very keenly.

At another place, while praising Firoz Khan Durrani, Mukhfi alludes to the special claim he has got on him, having come from the same country as he :

ز روی لطف به تقصیر من قلم درکش  
که با تو هست مرا نسبت خراسانی

Tr.—“ Kindly pen through (i.e., forgive) my fault ;  
For, I have towards you the relationship of being  
a Khurasani (i.e., belonging to Khurasan as you  
do).”

Then again he says in another place :

دل آشفته مخفی بفن خرد ارسطو یست  
بهند افتاده است اما خراسانست یونانی

Tr.—“ The stricken heart of Mukhfi is an Aristotle at his  
art ;  
He has fallen into India, but Khurasan is his Greece  
(i.e., his native country).”

There is one couplet, however, where the poet unequivocally declares his native home to be a certain place Istrakh in Khurasan :

تو از ملک خراسانی وطن درامطرخ داری  
 بخواب شب اگر درد و غم هندوستان بینی

Tr.—“ Thou hailest from Khurasan and thy native place is Istrakh,

Though thou beholdest afflictions and sorrows in India as in a night-dream.”

The internal evidence produced above from *Diwán-i-Mukhfi* is, I think, enough to convince anybody who cares to go through it that the book is not the work of Zibunnisa Begum, but that its author was a Persian poet belonging to Khurasan, who came to India during the reign of Emperor Shahjahan for earning his livelihood by eulogizing the rich and powerful men of the time like other ordinary poets, met with difficulties in this country and was glad to leave it for good.

## V—The Bull-Roarer in India.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Dr. A. C. Haddon, in his *Study of Man*, calls the Bull-roarer "the most ancient, widely-spread and sacred religious symbol of the world." As India is the home of numerous comparatively primitive tribes, traces of the primitive uses of the bull-roarer may still be reasonably expected to exist in parts of this country. But, unfortunately no survey appears to have yet been made of the different forms of "bull-roarers" that may still be found in India, and the uses to which they are now put as well as the purposes that they at one time subserved. Nor is the present paper intended to supply the want of such a survey. My humble object in this paper is to draw the attention of students of Ethnology in India to the need for vigilant and careful search in different parts of India for evidence as to the present and past uses of the instrument. Such search may perchance reward some fortunate student with the discovery of survivals or vestiges of the religious or magical uses of the bull-roarer similar to those found in parts of savage Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea, Africa, America and Melanesia, the only countries in which so far the magical and religious uses of the bull-roarer have been observed.

The prehistoric antiquity of the bull-roarer as a sacred object is inferred from the fact that two or three bull-roarers made of bone and decorated with incised concentric circles, such as are found in some Northern and Central Australian bull-roarers, have been discovered in certain palæolithic sites in Europe. And its undoubted ancient use in the historic period as an object of religious veneration or magico-religious significance is proved by its employment in connection with the Dionysian mysteries in ancient Greece.



The bull-roarer, as all students of Ethnology are aware, is merely a thin slat of wood or bamboo, which is tied to a string and, when swung round, produces at first a low humming sound which soon rises to a muffled windy roaring noise. The size of the slat varies from 8 to 9 inches in length and from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 inches in breadth, and the shape is either oblong or oval. There is generally, but not always, a hole at one end for the insertion of the string.

It is among some of the Australian tribes that the mystical and magical uses of the instrument are still found in full vigour. I need not describe those uses in detail as they are familiar to all students of Ethnology. The main features of the ceremonial uses of the bull-roarer in Australia are that they are connected with the secret ceremonies of the men, such as initiation and circumcision, and their mysteries are carefully guarded from women and children among whom a belief is inculcated that the sound is the voice of a supernatural being connected with the ceremonies from whom they must keep at a distance. When not required for ceremonial use, the bull-roarers are stowed away in men's club-houses which no woman may enter.

In India, as I said, no regular investigation appears to have yet been made as to the present or past existence and uses of the bull-roarer. There is only one bull-roarer in the Indian Museum; and this, as the register of the Museum shows, was brought from the Chittagong district.<sup>1</sup> The exact place of find is not recorded nor the use made of it. No specimen of a bull-roarer is to be seen in the Madras Museum or the Prince of Wales' Museum at Bombay or the Lucknow Museum or any other provincial or state museum in India, so far as I know, except one or two presented by me to the Patna Museum.

In my own enquiries among the aboriginal tribes of Chōṭā Nāgpur and Bihār and Orissā I have so far met with the bull-roarer only among four tribes, namely the Hos of the Singhbhum district, the Sāntāls in the Singhbhum and Monghyr districts

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<sup>1</sup> Its registered number is 11007 and it is kept in a glass-case for *musical instruments*.

and the Mūṇḍās and the Orāons of the Ranchi district (Fig. 1). The Orāon bull-roarer, like most other bull-roarers described by ethnological writers, has a hole at one end for the insertion of a string, but a Santal bull-roarer that I found in a village near Chakai in the Monghyr district in Bihar is not perforated but notched to form a neck with two shoulders for tying the string on. Mūṇḍā boys use bull-roarers of both varieties, notched as well as perforated. The Chittagong specimen in the Indian Museum is also notched only partially, having one shoulder only, and is not perforated.

As for the Mūṇḍās, Hōs and Santāls, the use of the bull-roarer amongst them is now only sporadic occurring only in a few villages, and that too merely as a children's toy, as in the British Isles, Central Europe, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and in some other parts of the world. Among the Chōṭā Nāgpur tribes I have met with no traces of the use of the bull-roarer in putting cattle to flight by its noise, as the name "bull-roarer" primarily signifies, nor do the Chōṭā Nāgpur aboriginals use it as a hunting charm, as the Bushman do, to draw game. The uses of the Chittagong bull-roarer, as I have said, are not recorded. The three Indian bull-roarers—Mūṇḍā, Santāl and Hō—which are used as children's toys, are provided with wooden or bamboo handles like the handle of a horsewhip. And as the Chittagong specimen is also provided with a similar handle, it may perhaps, be presumed that the bull-roarer is now used as a children's toy in the Chittagong district.

It is only in some Orāon villages in the central plateau of the Ranchi district that I have found some traces or vestiges of the former ceremonial or magical use of the bull-roarer. At the present day, even the Orāons themselves have forgotten the exact ceremonial uses made of the bull-roarer by their ancestors. But in some of the *dhūmkūriās* or dormitories and club-houses of Orāon bachelors, may be seen hundreds of thin slats of bamboo perforated at one end and strung together and hanging in rows from the beams (Fig. 2). The Orāons now call these bull-roarers that are kept in their *dhūmkūriās* by the name

of *khed-khukris* or foot-scrapers and, when I asked the inmates of these dormitories and other Orāons of the villages what they were meant for, the only information they could give me was that they were scrapers with which the younger boys scrape the soles of the elder boys' feet to remove dried up bits of scarf skin. And that is how I described this instrument in my monograph on the Orāons of Chōtā Nāgpur (p. 244) published in 1915. In some Orāon *dhūmkūriās*, valves of the seed-pod of the *semar* (*Bombax malabaricum*) tree, perforated at one end, are used for the purpose instead of slats of wood or bamboo. When whirled round, these bull-roarers made of *semar*-pods produce the same roaring noise as other bull-roarers. But these *semar*-pod bull-roarers can by no means serve the purpose of foot-scrapers. Nor are they known to be ever used as children's toys. If twirled about for any length of time, the dry valves get cracked and unfit for use. So their only object would appear to have been a ceremonial one.

From later inquiries I learnt that the actual instruments used as foot-scrapers in some Orāon dormitories were similar but broader slats of wood most of which had no perforations to pass a string through, and in one dormitory I found such scrapers kept in a small basket over a beam of the building, and they are not much thought of, whereas the strings of thin slats of bamboo hanging from the beams are carefully preserved. As for these rows of small bamboo slats suspended in rows from the beams of the Orāon bachelors' dormitories, my attention was first drawn to the identity of these objects with bull-roarers by my esteemed friend Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., author of the interesting monographs on the *Lhota Nāgās* and the *Ao Nāgās*, whom I took to see one or two of these Orāon bachelors' dormitories in the Ranchi district. Dr. J. H. Hutton informs me that the original nature and use of similar slats of wood hung up in rows in Nāgā *chāngs* or dormitories in Assam was also not perceived until recently when Mr. Henry Balfour visited them and pointed out that these slats were in reality bull-roarers. By the courtesy of my esteemed friend

Dr. Hutton I have now secured specimens of different forms of the bull-roarer in use in Assam. These are shown in Figure 7.

Once my attention was drawn to it, I saw that the identity was unmistakable, and I wondered how it had been overlooked not only by myself but by some other anthropologists, European and Indian, whom I had shown these objects. Later I found out that the use of similar slats of wood or bamboo as children's toys, too, was not altogether unknown to the Orāon, though rather rare. When used as a toy, the Orāon calls the bull-roarer by the name of *Bhūrka*, the Mūṇḍa calls it by the onomatopoeic name of *Hūi-hūi* and the Ho calls it *Biur-biur*.

Although the Orāons have now practically forgotten the magical and religious uses of the bull-roarer, its intimate connection with their bachelors' dormitories and men's club-houses known as *dhūmkūriā*s and its apparently decorative but actually ceremonial use at the periodical dancing festivals of the Orāon youth at the village *ākhrā* which adjoins and practically forms part of the *dhūmkūriā*, appear to point unmistakably to the former magical and religious uses made of the instrument. These uses, of which vestiges still linger, would appear to have been more or less analogous to the purposes which the bull-roarer still subserves among the Australian Blacks and some other tribes.

The young Orāon inmates of the *dhūmkūriā* club-houses have still to go through certain initiation ceremonies, but many of the ancient rites and ceremonies connected therewith appear to have fallen into disuse and the rites and ceremonies in which these bull-roarers might have been employed would appear to be among them. In Australian initiation ceremonies, the use of the bull-roarer and the practice of daubing the bodies of men with clay are associated together. In certain secret ceremonies and dancing festivals, the Orāon initiates, too, bedaub their bodies with a kind of whitish clay (Fig. 3), but the bull-roarer does not now play the same rôle in these Orāon ceremonies and festivals as it does in Australia.

The sacred mystery of the bull-roarer is no longer remembered by the Orāon, nor preserved in his folklore. It is now neither employed, as in Australia, to scare away women and children by its thunderous booming, nor is it employed, as among the Zuni Indians and certain South African tribes, as a call to the ceremonial observance of the tribal ritual. The function of scaring away women and children from an Orāon *dhūmkūriā* is partially performed by a wooden post in the interior of the hall facing the doorway. This post is in some *dhūmkūriā* houses roughly carved into the similitude of a human female. Even where the post is not carved into a human shape, it is always provided with a slit meant to represent the female organ. (Fig. 4) In some *dhumkurias* one or more planks of wood with female breasts carved on them in relief are placed upon the beam which is supported on this post. Saucy children who dare intrude or peep into the *dhumkuria* building are visited for their impudence with the indecent punishment of having their private parts pressed against or inserted into the slit on the post. It is not unlikely, however, that this rudely carved post was once meant to represent the spirit or deity of fertility among men. Certain other practices connected with the *dhūmkūriā* institution would appear to strengthen this inference. At the present day, however, it is the corresponding symbol of the male phallus represented by a high conical mound of earth and rarely a high conical stone, known as *Māndar-salu*, as well as the hole (representing probably the female organ) underneath the Mūtri-Chāṇḍi stone into which the *dhūmkūriā* boys ceremonially misturate for increase of male progeny, that are connected with the fertility rites of the *dhūmkūriā* young men. (Fig. 5.)

To return to the bull-roarer. If the bull-roarer is no longer used by the Orāon inmates of the bachelors' club to scare away women and children from its sacred and inviolable precincts, as among some Australian Blacks, it would seem that there is a certain Orāon practice still connected with these bull-roarers which would appear to have been originally meant to

scare away evil spirits. The practice I refer to is that of taking out these threaded slats of bamboo which are nothing else but bull-roarers from the *dhūmkūrā* house to the adjoining *ākhrā* or dancing ground on occasions of certain dancing festivals of the Orāon youth and hanging them in long rows upon rows over the heads of the dancers. On inquiry as to the object of hanging these so-called *khukris* in long strings over the dancing ground, the Orāons of the village can only tell the inquisitive inquirer that they are meant for decoration (*sōbhā*) and for the rattling sound they make when shaken by the wind.

But the anthropologist has good reasons to infer that the object of this exhibition of bull-roarers is a more serious and indeed a magical one. It is not an unusual phenomenon at these dances for one or more of the dancers—particularly young females—to show signs of spirit possession. The Orāon believes that disembodied human spirits are always eager to take part in these dances and other merriments to which they were accustomed during their earthly existence, and this they can only do by entering the bodies of some dancer or other. But as such spirit-possession is harmful to the person possessed, it is necessary to keep off such spirits. And the sight of the bull-roarers and the sound made by them when shaken by the breeze were probably supposed to have the effect of scaring away spirits, just as the cracking of a whip by the spirit-doctor, the brandishing of sticks at the Orāon ceremony of driving away disease-spirits, and the brandishing of swords at Orāon weddings, are also supposed to scare away evil spirits. In the Banks Islands in Melanesia and in parts of North America, the bull-roarer is avowedly employed to frighten away spirits.

From all these circumstances and the association in which the instrument occurs, there appears to me to be no reasonable doubt that the bull-roarer among the Orāons was once held sacred as an object of religious or magical significance. The very fact that the Orāon, like the Australian Black to whom the bull-roarer is still an object of religious awe and ritual, still carefully treasures up this mysterious instrument in his



*dhūmkūriā* building which is taboo to women and children, raises a strong presumption of its former religious and magico-religious use among the Orāons as among the Australians. This presumption is further strengthened by the fact that the only other objects that are so treasured up in the Orāon *dhūmkūriās*, namely, their *jātra* flags and the wooden representations of animals and other tribal emblems (Fig. 6) are still of magico-religious significance to the tribe and to which offerings and sacrifices are still made. Finally, the presumption ripens almost into proof when we find that these bull-roarers are assigned a part, probably that of spirit-scaring, on occasions of dancing festivals of the Orāon youth of the *dhūmkūriās*.

Such is the existing fragmentary evidence of the magico-religious uses of this simple and seemingly insignificant instrument which, has been called the most ancient, widely spread and sacred religious symbol in the world. In the course of ethnological investigations in the Panjāb among the Chuhrás, I came to know that until five or six years ago bull-roarers made of wood and known as *Glūnkūis* were frequently used as toys by children in Panjāb villages and even now they have not altogether gone out of use. In South India and in Bengal, too, bull-roarers are known to be used in places as children's toys. But unfortunately no specimens appear in any public collection, much less does any attempt appear to have been yet made to trace their past uses. I need hardly urge that it behoves all students of Indian Ethnology to search assiduously for any survivals or vestiges of the existence, and of the religious, magical and other uses, past and present, of the bull-roarer in different parts of India.

## VI—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph. D. (Oxon.)

"There is never more than his history behind the European which, of course, when it is great, rich and significant, gives him a relief which no other man possesses. But this background is always a finite one, and the clearest contours do not substitute width. At the back of the Oriental stand legends or fairy-tales : they represent more in so far as possibility is always more than reality ; it is less, as they are susceptible of doubt. For this reason the Oriental seems always somehow unreal ; he produces the effect of a *quasimodogenitus* who is simultaneously infinitely old."<sup>1</sup>

An inadequate appreciation of this relation of history to legends has often misled European students<sup>2</sup> of Indian history. "History" writes Macdonell<sup>3</sup>, "is the one weak spot in Indian literature. It is, in fact, non-existent. The total lack of the historical sense is so characteristic that the whole course of Sanskrit literature is darkened by the shadow of this defect, suffering as it does from an entire absence of exact chronology." Keith<sup>4</sup> and Pargiter<sup>5</sup> follow with a list of omissions of so-called historical facts and ingenuous theories<sup>6</sup> based thereon. The charges are thus principally two :—(a) non-statement of facts<sup>7</sup> : (b) want of chronology.<sup>8</sup> But (a) no history, even

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<sup>1</sup> Keyserling. *Reisetagebuch*, Holroyd-Reece, vol. II, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 737-41.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, *op.cit.*, p. 738. Oldenberg, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 1095 f.

<sup>5</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 885-904.

<sup>6</sup> Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, pp. 9-13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 10 ; *Vedic Index*, ii, 256.

<sup>8</sup> *Ved. Ind.*, i, 331.

European history, from the time of Herodotus and Thucydides to Carlyle and Treitschke ever records everything which lives and exists; it only knows and records that portion which interferes immediately with material events coming within the purview of its selected subject. (b) And is not "exact chronology" in all histology (apart from the life-history of individuals, a fiction to relieve one epoch by the succeeding one?<sup>1</sup> Do not they continue to exist in and with another? Just as no state in the individual finally passes away but only disappears from the arena of activity, so historical conditions endure, although they temporarily retire from the popular view. Some social strata in India still live in mediæval days, others continue Vedic sacrifices<sup>2</sup>. There are still Asuras, Āryas and Dāsas; Chaldeans, Phœnicians and Sumerians; only it is difficult to discover them<sup>3</sup>. The whole history of Sanskrit literature is filled by ghosts: Viśvāmitras, Vasiṣṭhas and Bharatas stalk on the stage at every step<sup>4</sup>; nine Vikramādityas<sup>5</sup> carry on the literary tradition from era to era. This fundamental unity is reflected in chronological continuity that is at once vague and comprehensive. Is it not truer than the multiplicity of the modern man who thinks *historically*, his dissatisfaction, his enmity to his own world? In his efforts to be different from what he is, he forcibly fits himself into an intellectual structure by violence. His superstition of himself as a historical unit leads him to ignore that within himself which does not harmonise with his age. He thus does not read history but imagines it. An instance is the endeavour of present day India the heir of every thing which preceded it and is still in it, standing out against the ampler back-ground

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<sup>1</sup> Herder, *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf this continuity from Pre-Vedic to Post-Vedic—Rv. I. 164. 50: 'The gods sacrificed to a sacrifice by means of a sacrifice. Those *were* the first religious rites. Invested with glory, they then went to heaven where those gods who had preceded them (*Pūrve*) dwell.'

<sup>3</sup> Culturally and ethnically it is still more difficult to distinguish them.

<sup>4</sup> Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, chs. xii—xiv.

<sup>5</sup> Penzler, *The Ocean of Stories*.

of legends and tradition—to fit herself by force into a system of values tested through the limited history of a part of Europe. Be uniform, says the system, even if uniformly insipid.<sup>1</sup> The whole trend of her tradition points the other way and pleads for synthesis<sup>2</sup> and admission of differences where differences do exist.<sup>3</sup> And the ancient traditional history of India develops this theme through Vedic, Epic, Classical and Mediaeval days. The history of the Asuras in India supplies an important thread and may illustrate this peculiar genius<sup>4</sup> of the Indian civilisation. The Asura tradition dates from the beginning of Indian history.<sup>5</sup> Asuras as a people precede the Āryas<sup>6</sup> and probably the Dāsas<sup>7</sup> in India. Have they left any literary or archæological records? At Mahenjo-Daro in Sindh have come to light remains of an advanced civilization—remains both architectural and inscrip-tional.<sup>8</sup> Their nature and history are still matters of discussion.<sup>9</sup> But their very existence is a definite refutation of the so-called history of India taught in current text-books.<sup>10</sup> Either deny their existence<sup>11</sup> or make room for them in the so long accepted

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<sup>1</sup> Antisthenes used to advise the Athenians to pass a vote that asses were horses: and as they objected to that as irrational, "why" said he, "those whom you make generals have never learnt to be really generals; they have only been voted such".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the composite body-social and body-politic of classical India: *J.B.O.E.S.* xii, p. 539.

<sup>3</sup> The caste system. Manu ch. I.

<sup>4</sup> This synthesis is also traceable in the inscriptions—Budd hist, Jain, Brāhmaṇa—culminating in Hinduism; cf. Bhuvanēśvar Insers. beginning with a well-known Buddhist formula, breathing the Jaina spirit and offering to the Brāhmaṇic deities.

<sup>5</sup> Bloomfield, *A Vedic Concordance*, H. O. S., vol. 16, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> MBh. xiii. 566.

<sup>7</sup> Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, 3, 80.

<sup>8</sup> Not only seals but regular inscriptions have been discovered.

<sup>9</sup> Marshall, *Illustrated Lond. News*, Sept. 1924.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. V. Smith, *Early Hist. Ind. Fed. Ind.* ignores the Asuras as a historical entity.

<sup>11</sup> An attempt has yet to be made to bring these discoveries to the notice of orthodox scholarship.

scheme of Indian history. To do this one must re-read the different strata. In the absence of yet un-deciphered Asura records, those of the next or Aryan era must be re-examined. The results of such a re-examination of which an instance is discussed below would necessitate a complete revision of some old ideas and a more accurate estimate of the rest. Incidentally it vindicates the ancient Indian's conception of traditional history.

In history, as in everything else,<sup>1</sup> an Indian believes in the authority of the Vedas—*Vedāḥ pramāṇam*<sup>2</sup>. Amongst the Vedas again, the Ṛgveda is the fountain-head.<sup>3</sup> The hymns of the Ṛgveda scrupulously preserved in the Samhitā, Pada, Krama, Ghana and Jaṭā pāṭhas<sup>4</sup> and in Anukramanis<sup>5</sup> embody national Indian traditional history.<sup>6</sup> But the difficulty lies in their interpretation.<sup>7</sup> The difficulty increased with the distance in time and was accentuated by later interests.<sup>8</sup> Thus even in the 7th cen. B.C., Kautsya<sup>9</sup> felt bewildered at the seeming contradictions and absurdities, whereas Sāyaṇa<sup>10</sup> in the 14th cen. A. C., deplors the tendency to misread Vedic tradition *sthāṇurayam bhārahārah kilābhūrdhīya vedaṃ na vijānāti go'rtham*.<sup>11</sup> And he insists on the elucidation of Vedic tradition with the help of traditional history in the Epics and the Purāṇas.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vedasyādhyayanam nityamanadhyayane pātāt*—Puruṣārthanusāsanam.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sāyaṇa, *Rgbhāṣya*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *H. S. L.*

<sup>5</sup> Max Muller, *A. S. L.*, p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Schroder, *W. Z. K. M.*, 9, 120.

<sup>8</sup> Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 11 : 'priestly tampering.'

<sup>9</sup> *Nirukta*, I, 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Rgbhāṣya*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also *Mantra hīnaś svarato varṇato vā mithyā prayukto na tamarthamāha*.

<sup>12</sup> *MBh.* i. 1. 260, quoted in *Rgbhāṣya*, Preface.

A fruitful scrutiny of this earliest Indian Vedic tradition is possible in the light of the Nighaṇṭu,<sup>1</sup> the Nirukta,<sup>2</sup> the Brhaddevatā<sup>3</sup> and the Sarvānukramanis.<sup>4</sup> None of these available texts can however claim to be immune from later tampering.<sup>5</sup> Some passages have been shown to be later interpolations.<sup>6</sup> Yet on the whole, palpable contradictions apart, they offer an association of older tradition with later as embodied in the Rgveda.

Thus, in the first pāda of Chapter I. of the Daivatakāṇḍa,<sup>7</sup> Yāska says—

*tāstrivīdhā rchal parokṣakṛtāḥ pratyakṣakṛtā  
ādhyātmikyaścha.*

“Three different kinds of hymns (in the Vedas)—composed by people out of sight i.e. known traditionally, composed to one’s sight i.e., knowledge (by others known historically) and dealing with ourselves (i.e., contemporaries).”<sup>8</sup>

And he continues—

*parokṣakṛtāḥ pratyakṣakṛtāścha manirā  
bhūyīṣṭhā alpā ādhyātmikāḥ.*<sup>9</sup>

“Hymns composed traditionally and historically are most numerous, only a few are contemporary.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Muir, *Skt. Texts*, Vol ii, p. 165; cf. Roth’s edition of the Nirukta.

<sup>2</sup> Yāska, cf. Sāyaṇa, *Rgḍhāṣya*, Preface: *atha nirukṭaprayojanamuchhyate*.

<sup>3</sup> *Brhaddevatā*, H.O.S., Vol. 5, p. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> Max Muller, *A. S. L.*, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Devarāja, \* *apareṣu chakānichidapahāya kānich it viśrastāni*.

<sup>6</sup> Sarup, *Introd. to the Nirukta*, pp. 42-5.

<sup>7</sup> Yāska explains only Vedic words. The Daivata kāṇḍa is the third part of Nighaṇṭu—*Samāmnāyah Samāmnātāḥ \* tamimam Samāmnāyam Nighaṇṭu-vaiyāchakṣate*. It is to be noted that the Daivata kāṇḍa uses the same expression *āchakṣate*.

<sup>8</sup> *ādhyātmika* meaning “pertaining to self” would refer to contemporary records. The Rgvedic hymns are to be classified not only according to their literary strata but also historical sequence.

<sup>9</sup> Yāska, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Pargiter admits “contemporary notices” (*A.I.H.T.*, p. 2) but refuses to face the task of finding out their “chronological setting with reference to other events.”



To begin with, a distinction is made between three strata forming one epoch—tradition, history and contemporary records: *parokṣakṛtāḥ*, *pratyakṣakṛtāḥ* and *ādhyaitmikyāḥ*.<sup>1</sup> And they exhaust the creative Vedic period. Follows the period of interpretation, from Kautsya and Yāska<sup>2</sup> to Roth and Macdonell.<sup>3</sup> And the greater the distance in time, the more confused the outlook.<sup>4</sup> For these strata really reflect the different sources and elements of ancient Asura-Ārya-Dāsa India.

Yāska's explanation (Daiv. I, ch. I, § 1) is a mere description<sup>5</sup> and imperfect as that. The Vedic tradition was already distant. *Anarthakā hi mantrāḥ*,<sup>6</sup> 'the hymns are meaningless', says Kautsya. Yāska's rejoinder *naiṣa Sthāṇoraparādhō yadenamandho na paśyati puruṣāparādhāḥ sa bhavati*<sup>7</sup> 'it is not the fault of the poet if a blind man does not see it, it is the fault of the man' fails to convince. This failure is further confirmed by many of his manifestly absurd etymological explanations.<sup>8</sup> Thus to Kautsya and Yāska ancient Indian history was already becoming obscure. At the other extremity Macdonell<sup>9</sup> starts with an improvised history of early India, ignores internal tradition in the Vedic literature, successfully misses the earliest stratum represented by the Asuras (who are not even mentioned in his Vedic Index)<sup>10</sup> and winds up by admonishing ancient Indians on their lack of the historical sense.<sup>11</sup> This statement faithfully repeated by second-hand

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Śruti, Smṛti* and *itiḥāsa*.

<sup>2</sup> Yāska himself mentions about 31 authorities.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhandarkar comm. vol.* 1918.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the etymology of *Asura*, v. Bradke, *Z. D. M. G.*, 40, 347-G; Petersburg er Wörterbuch, under *Sura*.

<sup>5</sup> Yāska, *Nirukta*, Daiv. I. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 15. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 16. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sāyaṇa on *nāsatyau*.

<sup>9</sup> H S.L.: cf. Rapson, *C.H.A.I.*, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, pp. 156-7: under Demons and Fiends.

<sup>11</sup> Macdonell, *H.S.L.*, p. 10: Keith, *J.R.A.S.* 1914, pp. 739, 1031n; 1915, p. 143n.

scholars<sup>1</sup> has gradually assumed an axiomatic plausibility. To this the Mahenjo-Daro finds<sup>2</sup> came as a rude shock necessitating a re-searching in the original texts.

The task of interpretation must begin afresh from Kautsya. Even before Kautsya, the Atharvaveda<sup>3</sup> was questioning the authority of the other Vedas.<sup>4</sup> The Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads preserve traces of their original scepticism about the revelatory character of the Vedas.<sup>5</sup>—*Yo hyeva prabhavaḥ sa evāpyayaḥ*<sup>6</sup> 'whosoever is born is indeed the authoritative person' *iyameva pṛthivīto hādam sarvamuttisthati yadidaṁ kincha*<sup>7</sup> 'here is the earth, everything that is, rises from it'. The Tevijja Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya regards the Vedas as 'ridiculous, mere words'<sup>8</sup> The Cārvākas emphasised the Vedic contradictions from the popular point of view.<sup>9</sup> Yāskat<sup>10</sup>, Jaimini<sup>11</sup>, Kumārila<sup>12</sup>, Śaṅkara<sup>13</sup> and Sāyaṇa<sup>14</sup> sought a solution but were handicapped from the beginning by neglecting the historical setting and the traditional background. Their successors Roth,<sup>15</sup> Kaegi,<sup>16</sup> and Macdonell<sup>17</sup> created further difficulties by insisting on a historical structure obviously based on insufficient data, into which even the meagre quota of admitted facts have so far refused to fit. The recent discoveries require room much too big to allow the structure itself to stand.

<sup>1</sup> Sarup, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *G.B.*, i. 2. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 2. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Brh. Upaniṣad*, i. 5. 23; *Ch. Up.* v. 11-24; *Tait. Up.* ii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *At. Ar.*, iii. 2. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 1. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Rhys-Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.E., vol. ii. pp. 304-14.

<sup>9</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgrahaḥ*.

<sup>10</sup> *Nirukta*, 16. 2.

<sup>11</sup> The *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*.

<sup>12</sup> Commentary on the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*.

<sup>13</sup> *Vadāntabhāṣya*.

<sup>14</sup> *Āgbbhāṣya*.

<sup>15</sup> Roth, *Z.D.M.G.*, 6, 67-77,

<sup>16</sup> *Der Rigveda*, 1886.

<sup>17</sup> *Vedic Mythology*.

A reconsideration becomes inevitable. Yāska<sup>1</sup> offers a convenient starting-point. Between Yāska's '*Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*' and Sāyaṇa's *R̥gvedabhāṣya* rise a number of interpreters and their commentators with varying degrees of accuracy as regards Vedic tradition and history. Chief among them are the following :

*Treatises.*—Nirukta—(Yāska) c. 500 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

Bṛhaddevatā (Śaunaka school) c. 400 B. C.<sup>3</sup>

(a) Ārṣānukramaṇī;	} Saunaka school. <sup>5</sup>
(b) Chhando'nukramaṇī;	
(c) Devatānukramaṇī;	
(d) Anuvakānukramaṇī;	
(e) Sūktānukramaṇī <sup>4</sup> ;	

Sarvānukramaṇī—(Kātyāyana)<sup>6</sup> c. middle of the 4th. cen. B. C.

*Commentaries.*—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya<sup>7</sup>. Vedārthadīpikā, latter half of the 12th. cen. A. C.<sup>8</sup>.

Devarājajayvan<sup>9</sup>, c. 12th. cen. A. C.

Durga<sup>10</sup>, c. 13th. cen. A. C.

Sāyaṇa<sup>11</sup>, 14th. cen. A. C.

It is important to remember that all the above authorities aim at carrying on the tradition in the Vedas. Even commentators on Yāska, like Devarājajayvan and Skandasvāmī do not hesitate to put in additional words from Vedic sources not

<sup>1</sup> Yāska mentions the *Prātisākhya*s, treatises on Vedic Phonology (physiology and acoustics) connecting the *padapāṭha* with the *Nirukta*.

<sup>2</sup> Yāska mentions 31 predecessors.

<sup>3</sup> *Bṛhad.* cites 32 authorities; Macdonell, *op. cit.*, *H. O. S.*, vol. S., p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Max Muller, *A. S. L.*, p. 234.

<sup>5</sup> According to *Vedārtha dīpikā*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Macdonell, *Sarvān.*, *op. cit.*, p. v.

<sup>8</sup> Weber, *Ved. Stud.*, vol. viii, p. 160n.

<sup>9</sup> Devarāja quotes from Skandasvāmī. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskaramiśra, Mādhava.

<sup>10</sup> Durga's predecessors were Ugra (Aufrecht', *Catalogu Catalogorum*, vol. i, p. 297, and Skandasvāmī (Aufrecht *op. cit.*).

<sup>11</sup> Followed by *Nīlīmānjari*.

found in Yāska's collection <sup>1</sup>. 'Only the Vedic sages knew the tradition first-hand. Others learn it

**Paroksakrtah,**  
**Pratyaksak r t a h**  
**A d h y a t m i k y a h**  
**Vedic expressions.**

from predecessors, others still understand the words only'—*Sākṣātkṛtadharmāṇa ṛṣaya babhūvuste' varebhyo' asākṣātkṛtadharmabhyā upadeśena* \* \*

\* *avare bīlmagrahaṇāyemaṁ granthaṁ Samāmnāsiṣurvedaṁ vedāṅgāni cha* <sup>2</sup>. Yāska makes it abundantly clear that the words he seeks to explain are not his own but *Samāmnāyah Samāmnātaḥ ... tam imam Samāmnāyaṁ Nighaṇṭava ityācakṣate*, known traditionally from Vedic days and called *Nighaṇṭu* <sup>3</sup>. This *Nighaṇṭu* with Yāska's explanations, Sāyaṇa <sup>4</sup> designates as *Nirukta*. <sup>5</sup> The *Bṛhaddevatā* <sup>6</sup> and the *Anukramanī* deal with the same Vedic materials. Compare for instance Vedic tradition and history in the same stories cited by Yāska <sup>7</sup> and in the *Bṛhaddevatā* <sup>8</sup> and the *Sarvānukramanī*. <sup>9</sup> *Ṣaḍguru-śiṣya* <sup>10</sup> very aptly calls them *itihāsas*, i.e., history. Sāyaṇa <sup>11</sup> invokes *purāṇas* tradition as well. The human touch is unmistakable. See the *itihāsa* of *Vikuṇṭhā* <sup>12</sup> an *Āsurī* (female Asura) becomes the mother of a son like Indra (*Vedārthadūpikā* x. 47; also *Sarvānukramanī*. The union suggests a metabolic assimilation of Ārya and Asura, history and tradition. The object being an understanding of traditional history in the Vedas, none of the above treatises or commentaries can by itself be

<sup>1</sup> *Aṅgeṣāṇcha padānāmāsmatkule Samāmnāyādhyayanasyāvichchedāt—Devarāja.*

<sup>2</sup> *Nirukta*, 20.4.

<sup>3</sup> *Samāmnāyah Samāmnātaḥ.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rgvedabhāṣyabhūmikā.*

<sup>5</sup> *Arthāvabodhe nirapekṣatayā padajātaṁ yatiroktaṁ.*

<sup>6</sup> *Samāmnāyānupūreṇataḥ.*

<sup>7</sup> Sarup, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Bṛhad.*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>9</sup> Macdonell, *Sarvān.*, p. 210.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Rgbhāṣyabhūmikā.*

<sup>12</sup> *Rv.* x. 47.

regarded as final or conclusive. Thus Yāska himself as known at present is hardly reliable, says Devarājajayvan <sup>1</sup> \* \* *naighaṇṭukaṃ kāṇḍamutsannaprāyamāvit.*<sup>2</sup> Yāska himself quotes about 31 predecessors.<sup>3</sup> Hence the significance of every expression, e.g., *pratyakṣakṛtāḥ*, *parokṣakṛtāḥ*, *ādhyātmikāḥ*, quoted by Yāska from the Vedas must be examined in the light of interpretations offered by his successors up to Sāyaṇa dealing with the same data. That these three expressions as referring to three different kinds of hymns representing three sources of Indian traditional history were no mere creations of Yāska <sup>4</sup> but inherited by him from earlier sources <sup>5</sup> is further borne out by their occurrence in independent <sup>6</sup> treatises like the *Bṛhad-devatā*, *parokṣa* iii. 141 ; v. 2 ; vii. i. 3 ; viii. 52 : *parokṣavat* vii. 31 : *parokṣata*, iv. 32 : *pratyakṣa*, i. 11 ; viii. 128 : the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, *parokṣavat*, x. 28.

**Yaksa on Parok-** *yaksakṛtā ādhyātmikyāscha tatra parok-*  
**sakṛtah, Pratyak-** *ṣakṛtāḥ sarvābhīrnāmavibhaktibhīryuj-*  
**sakṛtah Adhyat-** *yante prathamapurūṣaischākhyātasya* \* \*  
**mikah.** *atha pratyakṣakṛtā madhyamapurūṣayogāḥ* \* \* *athādhyātmikya*  
*uttamapurūṣayogāḥ.*<sup>7</sup>

'Mantra' says Yāska, is a general term in reference to some deity. Both *ṛṣi* (sage) and *devatā* (deity) are comprehensive. But Yāska remembers that some of these deities and their worshippers were originally not Aryans.<sup>8</sup> Some of these non-Aryans were once 'hostile'<sup>9</sup> and 'powerful.'<sup>10</sup> They even

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Ind. edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 2-5.

<sup>3</sup> Sarup, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Samāmnāyah samāmnātāḥ.*

<sup>5</sup> In direct line with the *Prātisākyas*.

<sup>6</sup> Yāska himself knew other *Vedāngas*, which must be different from those including Pāṇini, his successor.

<sup>7</sup> Yāska, *Daiv.* I. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Rv.* i. 150.

<sup>9</sup> *Av.* 8.6.

<sup>10</sup> *Rv.* x. 151.

possessed the land.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rv. i. 150.<sup>2</sup> Yāska explains *ariḥ* as *amitraḥ* i.e. unfriendly and 'lord'. Friends and foes invoking the same deity is illustrated by Rv. ii. 12, *pare avare ubhayāḥ amitṛāḥ* and *nānā havete*.<sup>3</sup> Durga amplifies Yāska and explains *ariḥ* as competent to sacrifice: even though 'a stranger or a hostile person.' (Roth). All the 'mantras' are thus *todasyeva saraṇa ā mahasya*<sup>4</sup> and Vedic tradition 'a great well containing waters from different streams flowing into it'.<sup>5</sup> The *ṛcāḥ* represent these streams. And they owe their origin to different sources. The stories of 'Pāṇis and Saramā'<sup>6</sup> 'Mitrāvaruṇā and Urvaśi'<sup>7</sup> etc., thinly veil an ancient non-Aryan stratum.<sup>8</sup> Already of course in Vedic days an assimilation had been attempted. Thus the Vedic conception of the origin of man combines the patrilinear Vivasvat's son Manu (Rv. x. 68)<sup>9</sup>, father of Manus (Rv. 1.80)<sup>10</sup>, with "Yama Vaivasvata, Vivasvat's son, who with his twin sister Yamī produced the human race."<sup>11</sup> How again to disentangle the threads of Asura-Ārya-Dāsa motifs.<sup>12</sup> Rv. x. 151 remembers the Asuras as friendly and dependable.<sup>13</sup> Rv. ii. 30 discovers them as wolfish.<sup>14</sup> Rv. x. 138 credits them with being crafty.<sup>15</sup> From

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<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Stud.*, 3, 164f. (human foes).

<sup>2</sup> Yāska's '*amitra*' in reference to the Āryas, not to the deities, Rv. vi. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Rv. ii. 12.8.

<sup>4</sup> Roth, *Nighaṇṭu*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Yāska, 11.25.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.13.

<sup>8</sup> Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, 2.220.

<sup>9</sup> Muir, *Skt. Texts*, 5, 52.

<sup>10</sup> *Av.* 8.10; *Sat. Br.* 13, 4, 3.

<sup>11</sup> 'Manu possibly ancestor of the Aryans only'—Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 139 n.2.

<sup>12</sup> Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Spiegel, *Die Arische Periode*, 272.

<sup>14</sup> Muir, *Skt. Texts*, 4, 52, 58.

<sup>15</sup> Bradke, *Dyaus Asura*, 109.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.



being epithets of Varuna or Mitra-Varuna,<sup>1</sup> gifted with *māyā* or 'occult power',<sup>2</sup> the Asura became the wicked (Rv. x. 124) hostile (Rv. x. 53) godless (Rv. viii. 85) creature who must be vanquished (Rv. x. 53).<sup>3</sup> And yet tradition depicts the Aryans as worsted at the outset and only winning by artifice.<sup>4</sup> And all through these seeming contradictions runs the later Brāhmaṇa historical belief that the Asuras were the offspring of Prajāpati and *originally equal to and like the gods*.<sup>5</sup> No wonder coming later still, Kautsya felt dismayed and preferred to keep aloof from further mystification.<sup>6</sup> Yāska boldly undertook to sift tradition.<sup>7</sup> He included in his traditional list<sup>8</sup> of historical directions the Vedic expressions *parokṣakṛtāḥ* (hymns composed by others in undetermined times), *pratyakṣakṛtāḥ* (hymns composed by people in known times) and *ādhyātmikyaḥ* (hymns composed by contemporaries).<sup>9</sup> He begins the section with \* \* *āchakṣate*, i.e. traditionally held as an authority for these expressions.<sup>10</sup> But he feels it beyond him to distinguish between the works of these ancient seers, these known seers and contemporaries, except that the former two constitute by far the most important portion from the traditional historical point of view.<sup>11</sup> He thus refrains from applying the ordinary criterion of *rṣi*, *devatā* and *chhandas*.<sup>11</sup> He offers instead a rough description. 'Of these hymns the *parokṣakṛtāḥ*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 120ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bergaigne. *op. cit.*, p. 3, 81.

<sup>3</sup> Bradke, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Muir, *op. cit.*, 4, 52, 53, cf. *deva*, *Tait. Sam.* 3, 5, 4; *Av.* 3, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Nirukta, 15. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 20. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Samāmnāyaḥ ... nighaṇṭava ityāchakṣate.*

<sup>8</sup> *Uttamapurusaḥ*, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Yāska, *Daiv.*, 1. 1.

<sup>10</sup> This partially explains the extraordinary care with which this traditional history was preserved. It also explains Pargiter's difficulty why 'it preserved the earlier information, and was ignorant of the later work.' Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Yāska does not attempt here his general etymological device.

are composed in all the cases of nouns but the verb of the third person.' Follow illustrations. 'Now the *pratyakṣakṛtāḥ* are composed with the second person and with the pronoun 'thou'. Follow illustrations. 'Now here also the worshippers are known in time, the objects of worship are out of sight.' Instances follow. 'Then the *ādhyātmikeyāḥ* are used with the first person and also with the pronoun 'I'. Instances follow.<sup>1</sup> He sums up by saying that *parokṣakṛtāḥ* and *pratyakṣakṛtāḥ* hymns are most numerous, *ādhyātmikeyāḥ* are limited.<sup>2</sup> The above description is neither complete nor accurate. The illustrations overlap.<sup>3</sup> Even Yāska saw its shortcoming. He sought to amplify it with *athāpi*, etc.<sup>4</sup> But its real and undoubted value consists in, however imperfectly, recording history with an insight into the tradition behind, *tāḥ rchāḥ*, —emphasises Yāska.<sup>5</sup> He is fully alive to the inconsistencies in the way of harmonising traditional data.<sup>6</sup> But he pleads for a scrutiny into the beginnings of things before rejecting them as incongruous—*Śa na manyetāgantūnivārtān devatūnāṃ pratyakṣadr̥ṣyametaubhavaṇi*.<sup>7</sup> The *parokṣakṛta* of the Vedic Aryan period might thus conceivably become the *pratyakṣakṛta* of the pre-Vedic Asura period, just as the *ādhyātmikeyāḥ* of the Vedic period were handed on to posterity as part and parcel of the sacred Vedic tradition.<sup>8</sup>

This traditional historical basis of Yāska, *Daiv.* 1—3, is made clear by the explanation of **Brhaddevata on** *parokṣa* and *prat-* *parokṣa*—, and *pratyakṣa* in the *Brhad-* *yakṣa*. *devatā* posterior to the *Nirukta* and anterior to the *Sarvānukramāṇi*, i.e. about 400 B.C.<sup>9</sup> Relevant

<sup>1</sup> Yāska, *Daiv.*, I. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *indrāya sāmā gāyata* and *Kaṇ vā abhi pra gāyata*.

<sup>4</sup> Yāska, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> To be connected in sense with the preceding *āchakṣate*.

<sup>6</sup> Yāska, *Daiv.*, I. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *itiḥāsa*s cited in *Sarvānu.*, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>9</sup> Macdonell, *Brhad.*, p. xxiii.

passages are *parokṣa* iii. 141; v. 2; vii. i. 9; viii. 52 : *parokṣokta*, iv. 32.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the last, i.e., *Ṛṇhaddevatā*, iv. 32—

*pravāda vividhāstatra derānām chātra kīrtanam—  
sūkte syarchi parokṣoktā vakṣyāmi bhrātarastrayaḥ ||*<sup>2</sup>

“In it” translates Macdonell,<sup>3</sup> “are various sayings (*pravādāḥ*) and here (too) mention of the gods. In the stanza ‘of this’ (*asya* : i. 164, 1) in the hymn, three brothers are spoken of in the third person (*parokṣa*)—I will explain (them)”. Three terms at once seem striking and each has been overlooked by Macdonell : *pravāda*, *kīrtanam* and *parokṣokta*. They really refer to the same thing. *Pravāda* means hearsay history or tradition, which embodies the records *kīrtana* of olden deities<sup>4</sup> and an instance is given of three brothers known from the composition of unknown seers (*parokṣokta*).<sup>5</sup> Macdonell’s<sup>6</sup> ‘in the third person’ (*parokṣa*) is a paraphrase of Yāska’s description— \* \* *prathamapurusaśchākhyaṭasya*.<sup>7</sup> The *Ṛṇhaddevatā* no doubt borrows from the *Nirukta* and is borrowed from by the *Sarvā-nukramāṇī*. Yet it should not be forgotten that Yāska is only one among a number of authorities<sup>8</sup> cited in the *Ṛṇhaddevatā*, notably Gālava, Śaunaka and Śākaṭāyana.<sup>9</sup> In some cases the *Ṛṇhaddevatā* might be carrying on the traditional meaning in a purer form than Yāska.<sup>10</sup> Even a late commentator like *Skandasamī*<sup>11</sup> does not hesitate to add 50 more words<sup>12</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Other passages—*parokṣavat*, vii. 31; *Sarvānu*. *Indrasya sruṣā*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> In connection with *pravāda*, *kīrtana* seems to have a distinct meaning referring to the past. Cf.

*Kīrtirasya sa jivati.*

<sup>5</sup> *Rv.* i, 153.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. 64, p. 133.

<sup>7</sup> *Nirukta*, Daiv. 1, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Macdonell, *Ṛṇhad.*, *op. cit.*,

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, App. ii, p. 115, Śaunaka.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxiii, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by Devarāja.

<sup>12</sup> Devarāja, *Bh. Ind. Series*, vol. 1, pp. 2—5.

Yāska's, Naighaṇṭuka kāṇḍa. And it is well known that Sāyana (*Rgvedabhāṣya*, Preface) regards the Nirukta as only the 4th among 6 Vedāṅgas.<sup>1</sup> It is thus not necessary to import the rough description of Yāska<sup>2</sup> to a possibly better interpretation of *parokṣa* and *pratyakṣa*<sup>3</sup> in the Bṛhaddevatā.

This historical significance is brought out more clearly by the word *pratyakṣa*.<sup>4</sup> Bṛhaddevatā viii. 129—

*anukrāntā devatāḥ sūktabhājo havirbhājaschobhayathā  
nīpātāḥ 1  
apyevam syādubhayathāṅgathā vā na pratyakṣamanṛṣerasi  
mantram 11*

Macdonell<sup>5</sup> translates.—“The deities which own hymns and own oblations have (thus) been stated in succession, in both cases together with (those which occur in) incidental mention. Whether this be so in both ways or in the other way, no formula is directly known (*pratyakṣa*) to any one who is not a seer.” The translation is wide of the mark. Once more Macdonell paraphrases Yāska<sup>6</sup> Daiv. 1. 1.—*pratyakṣakṛtāḥ stotāro bhavanti parokṣakṛtāni stotavyāni*.<sup>7</sup> The context is ‘remarks about deities and knowledge of them’.<sup>8</sup> The deities are then divided into two categories: *nīpātāḥ* ‘ancient deities of whom nothing direct is known;’ and *anukrāntā*<sup>9</sup> *devatāḥ* ‘deities noted in succession, hence directly known.’ The latter are next classified as *sūktabhājāḥ* ‘enjoying hymns’ and *havirbhājāḥ* ‘enjoying oblation.’ The interesting

<sup>1</sup> Yāska himself knew other Vedāṅgas, along with the Veda and the Nighaṇṭu.

<sup>2</sup> *Daiv.*, 1. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sarvānukramanī*, below.

<sup>4</sup> Other references—*Bṛhad.*, i. iii. cf. the word *pradṛśyate*.

<sup>5</sup> *Bṛhad.*, op. cit., H.O.S., Vol. 6, p. 331.

<sup>6</sup> *Nirukta*, vii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. in this connection the remarkable explanations of *pañcha janāḥ* ‘the five tribes’ given in the Nirukta. Yāska quotes one view describing ‘the five tribes’ as the gandharvas, manes, gods, evil spirits, and demons. It clearly retains an earlier reminiscence when gods and the so-called demons used to participate in the same ceremonies.

<sup>9</sup> The participle *anu* suggests near knowledge.

word is *pratyakṣa* as throwing into relief *nipātaiḥ* almost equivalent to *parokṣa* emphasising that every deity or historical substratum started as *pratyakṣa* to the then seers and therefore their subsequent authority must always rest on sacred tradition.<sup>1</sup>

This reference to tradition and history by *parokṣa*, and *pratyakṣa* is further borne out by the references to those expressions and their interpretations in the *Sarvānukramaṇī*,<sup>2</sup> the *Anuvākānukramaṇī*<sup>3</sup> and in *Ṣaḍguruśiṣya*.<sup>4</sup>

Thus *Sarvānukramaṇī*, x. 28—

*Indrasya śnuṣā parokṣavadimḍramāhemdrasya, etc.*<sup>5</sup>  
*Ṣaḍguruśiṣya* wrote his *Vedārthadīpikā*<sup>6</sup> commentary of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* about 1187 A. C.<sup>7</sup> He succeeded Kumārila and preceded Śaṅkara.<sup>8</sup> He bases his Vedic knowledge on—

*Ādyā Sarvānukramaṇī dvitīyā mahāvratam chopaniṣaddvayaṃcha Mahāvratam Sūtramāsām tṛtīyā chatvāriṃśadbṛāhmaṇam vai chatvārthī Sūtram pañchamyatra Ṣaṣṭhī tu grhyam śākalyasya Saṃhitā Saptamīti.*<sup>9</sup>

Thus equipped he was in a position to scrutinise Vedic traditional history.<sup>10</sup> He is singularly free from any obsession about Yāska<sup>11</sup> which seems to dodge every step of Macdonell.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Bṛhad.*, op. cit., p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> *Parokṣa*, x. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Belonging to the Śaiṣṭriya branch of the Sākala Sākhā of the R̥gveda, found in Mss. containing *Ṣaḍguruśiṣya*'s Com.

<sup>4</sup> *Vedārthadīpikā*; Wezer, *Ind. Stud.*, Vol. viii, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *Sarvānukramaṇī*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. xix; also, Weber, *Ind. Stud.* vol. viii, p. 60 n.

<sup>9</sup> *Ṣaḍguru*, 191, 16-17.

<sup>10</sup> cf. *uktam*, *Sarvān.*, op. cit. § 1. 2; 2, 2; 2, 13; x. 33, 90. *Śrūyate*, iii. 36 *Ṣaḍguru* ii, 14; vi. 45. 75. *Smṛyate*, *Ṣaḍguru*. § 1. 2; . 65.

<sup>11</sup> *Nirukta*, vii. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Bṛhad.*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 331.

Ṣaḍguruśiṣya<sup>1</sup> thus offers a straightforward and intelligible meaning of *parokṣavat*—

*Parokṣavadasamnikhitavat*<sup>2</sup>, 'not near, i.e., distant (either in time or space). From this the special sense of the *reḥaḥ*, as *parokṣa* and *pratyakṣa* denoting tradition and history must have been at the back of the mind of every student of Vedic India from Yāska<sup>3</sup> to Sāyaṇa.<sup>4</sup>

The task of a present-day student of ancient India would be to re-examine each passage bearing on the historical characteristics of Asuras, Āryas and Dāsas, and to scrutinise tradition—*parokṣa*, *pratyakṣa* and *ādhyātmika*. It would lead to a more accurate conception of early India. It might, in tracing the evolution of a composite culture by assimilating originally hostile and apparently exclusive civilisations, indicate the direction of current problems.

But is it wise to attempt an analysis at this stage, when Kautsya<sup>5</sup> despaired and Yāska<sup>6</sup> blundered? Yes, the recent discoveries at Mahenjo-Daro<sup>7</sup> has brought about a *rapprochement* between the present and the past, much nearer in time than the gulf separating the Vedas from Kautsya<sup>8</sup> and Yāska.<sup>9</sup> Literary traditions have never before been confronted with greater insistence by archæological finds.<sup>10</sup>

And literary tradition in India dies hard.<sup>11</sup> The power of memory<sup>12</sup> of people in India is overwhelming; it might almost

<sup>1</sup> *Vedārtha*, Macdonell, *Sarvān*, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Immediate successor of the *Prātisākhya*, c. 6 th. cen. B.C. Macdonell, *H. S. L.*

<sup>4</sup> Fourteenth century A. C., *Egghāṣya*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nirukta*, I. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *H. S. L.*

<sup>7</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Yāska's *Nirukta*, I. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Macdonell, *H. S. L.*

<sup>10</sup> Contrast Codrington, *Ancient India*, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Samāmnāya*, Muir, *Sansk. Texts*, vol. ii. p. 165.

<sup>12</sup> *Śruti* and *Smṛti* have been often confused by undiscerning critics as synonymous expressions: cf. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 18. *iti nah Śrutam*, *iti Śrutam*



be defined as the incapacity to forget. The story of the Asuras traced below is an illustration. The refrain of the R̥gveda iii.55—

*mahad divānām asuralvam ekam* <sup>1</sup>

continues changing up to the time of Patañjali <sup>2</sup> who draws the curtain over the Asura's last effort at exclusive existence—

*te asurāḥ* \*      \* *parābabhūvuh* <sup>3</sup> (Patañjali, 1).

But Asura memory lived on in traditional history <sup>4</sup> even after Patañjali.

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*iti Śrutiḥ* (Vā. 2,15; Mat. 35. 5; Hv. 10. 619; Rām. i. 70,30; etc.) roughly correspond to *parokṣā ṛcāḥ* of Yāska., Daiv. I. i. *Smṛta, anusūtruma* (Vā. 62,17 Bḍ. ii. 36, 201; Hv. 1.47; MBh. i.94, 3740; etc. approximate *pratyaḥkṣā ṛcāḥ*, Yāska, *op. cit.* It would be interesting to compare all such passages and determine their context. *Śruti* was older than the Vedas. cf. *Vaidikī Śruti* (Vā. 30.4) as distinguished from *Atkarvaṇī Śruti* (Viṣ. vi. 5.65). Tradition as embodied in Vedic and pre-Vedic sources is referred to in *purāṇam Veda-śruti-Samāhitam* (Br. 213,167) and *Veda-Śrutau purāṇe cha* (Bḍ. iv. 1.30). Later these pre-Vedic and Vedic sources merged as Veda in a comprehensive sense and was contrasted with *itihāsa* and as *smṛyate*, Rv. i. 65. Mann represents this later outlook, Mann. 11. 6.

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Bṛhaddevatā*, *op. cit.*, H. O. S., vol. 6, p.60.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. O. R. S., 1926, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Patañjali, Ed. Kielhorn, vol. I, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> cf. the Epics and Purāṇas. Jarāsandha (MBh). Rāvaṇa (Rām), Madhu (Pur.).

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

### I—List of the Inscriptions of the Gahadavala Rulers of Kanauj

By N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., Partabgarh, and D. B. Diskalkar,  
Rajkot

#### Chandradeva—

- V. S. 1148 Chandravati plate (now Lucknow Museum),  
*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 302.
- V. S. 1150 Chandravati plates (now Lucknow Museum),  
*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 192.
- V. S. 1154—? plate (Beng. A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII,  
p. 11 ; Kiel. No. 75.
- V. S. 1156 Chandravati plate (now Lucknow Museum),  
*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 192.

#### Madanapāladeva—

- V. S. 1161 Basahi plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103 ; Kiel. No. 77.
- V. S. 1162 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 359 ; Kiel. No. 80.
- V. S. 1163(4) Benares plate (now Royal A. S.). *Noticed in J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 789, Kiel. No. 81.
- V. S. 1166 Rāban plate (now Bengal A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15 ; Kiel. No. 83.

#### Govindachandradeva—

- V. S. 1171 Benares plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 149.
- V. S. 1171 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 102 ; Kiel. No. 84.

- V. S. 1171 Pali plate—First plate only (now Lucknow Museum). *Unpublished*. Cf. Kielhorn's List No. 692.
- V. S. 1172 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 104 ; Kiel. No. 85.
- V. S. 1174 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 105 ; Kiel. No. 87.
- V. S. 1174 Basahi plate (now Lucknow Museum). *Noticed in Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 19 ; Kiel. No. 88.
- V. S. 1175 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 106 ; Kiel. No. 89.
- V. S. 1176 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 109 ; Kiel. No. 90.
- V. S. 1176 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum). *Noticed in Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 109, Kiel. No. 91.
- V. S. 1176 Don Buzurg plates (now Lucknow Museum). *Unpublished*, Cf. *Cat. Archl. Exhibits in Lucknow Museum*, p. 17.
- V. S. 1177 Benares plate (now Beng. A. S.), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 123 ; Kiel. No. 93.
- V. S. 1177 Lucknow Museum plates. *Unpublished*. Cf. *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1921-22, p. 115.
- V. S. 1178 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110 ; Kiel. No. 95.
- V. S. 1180 Raiwan plate (whereabouts not known). *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVI, p. 113.
- V. S. 1181 Benares plate (now Lucknow Museum), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVI, p. 114 ; Kiel. No. 96.
- V. S. 1182 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 99 ; Kiel. No. 97.
- V. S. 1182 (3) ? Plate (now Beng. A. S.), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 242 ; Kiel. No. 98.
- V. S. 1182 Māner plate (now ?), *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 411.

- V. S. 1184 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum).  
*Noticed in Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 111 ; Kiel.  
No. 99.
- V. S. 1184 New plate (now with Mr. N. C. Mehta,  
Partabgarh) *Unpublished*.
- V. S. 1185 Benares plate (Beng. A. S.), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol.  
LVI, p. 119 ; Kiel. No. 100.
- V. S. 1186 — (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.  
XIII, p. 295.
- V. S. 1186 Saheth-Maheth plate (now Lucknow Museum),  
*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 20.
- V. S. 1187 Benares (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*,  
Vol. VIII, p. 153.
- V. S. 1187 Raiwan plate (now Lucknow Museum),  
*J. A. S. B.* Vol. LVI, p. 198 ; Kiel. No. 103.
- V. S. 1188 Ren plate (now Lucknow Museum). *Noticed in*  
*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 249 ; Kiel. No. 105.
- V. S. 1189 Pali plates (now Lucknow Museum). *Ep. Ind.*,  
Vol. V, p. 113.
- V. S. 1190 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep.*  
*Ind.* Vol. V, p. 111 ; Kiel. No. 107.
- V. S. 1190 Benares plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep.*  
*Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 155.
- V. S. 1191 Kamauli plate of the time of — (now Luck-  
now Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 131 ;  
Kiel. No. 109.
- V. S. 1192 Monghyr plate (now ?), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII,  
p. 98.
- V. S. 1196 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep.*  
*Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 361 ; Kiel. No. 115.
- V. S. 1197 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum). *Noticed*  
*in Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 113 ; Kiel. No. 117.
- V. S. 1198 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*,  
Vol. IV, p. 113 ; Kiel. No. 118.

V. S. 1199 Ghāghā plates (now British Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 216 (formerly noticed in *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 20); Kiel No 119.

V. S. 1200 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 115; Kiel. No. 122.

V. S. 1201 Machhlishwar plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 115.

V. S. 1202 Lār plates (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 98.

V. S. 1203 Benares plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 156.

V. S. 1207 Benares plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 158.

V. S. 1207 Hathiyadat pillar inscription of the time of Gosalladevi, wife of ——. *Unpublished*. Noticed by Cunningham in *Arch. Surv. Rep. of India*, Vol. I, p. 96.

[V. S. 1207 Śrāvāṇa vadi 4 some. A date from a MS. cf. *Catalogue of MSS. in the bhandārs at Jeselmere*, p. 5, *Gaikwad Oriental Series*.] No. XXI.

V. S. 1208 Bangavān plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 117; Kiel. No. 131.

V. S. 1211 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 106; Kiel. No. 135.

Date not given—Sarnāth inscription of Kumaradevi, wife of ——. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 319.

Date not given—Gangaikondacholapurana incomplete inscription. *Ann. Rep. for Ep.*, 1907-08, para. 58.

Vijayachandradeva—

V. S. 1224 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 118; Kiel. No. 148.

V. S. 1225 Jaunpur pillar inscription (in *situ*), *Arch. Sur. of India*, Vol. XI, p. 125; Kiel. No. 150.

- V. S. 1225 ? (now in R. A. S., London), *Ind. Ant.*,  
Vol. XV, p. 7 ; Kiel. No. 151.

Jayachandradeva—

- V. S. 1226 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 121 ; Kiel. No. 156.
- V. S. 1228 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 122 ; Kiel. No. 159.
- V. S. 1230 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 124 ; Kiel. No. 161.
- V. S. 1231 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 125 ; Kiel. No. 162.
- V. S. 1232 Sihvar (now Lucknow Museum), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 130 ; Kiel. No. 165.
- V. S. 1232 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 126 ; Kiel. No. 164.
- V. S. 1233 Kamauli plate (now Lucknow Museum), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 129 ; Kiel. No. 167.
- V. S. 1233 Benares plate (now Beng. A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 135 ; Kiel. No. 168.
- V. S. 1233 Benares plate (now Beng. A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 138 ; Kiel. No. 169.
- V. S. 1234 Benares plate (now Beng. A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 138 ; Kiel. No. 171.
- V. S. 1236 Benares plate (now Beng. A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 140 ; Kiel. No. 173.
- V. S. 1236 Benares plate (now Beng. A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 141 ; Kiel. No. 174.
- V. S. 1236 Benares plate (now Beng. A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 142 ; Kiel. No. 175.
- V. S. 1243 Faizābād plate (now Royal A. S.), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 10 ; Kiel. No. 181.
- V. S. 1245 Kosam inscription. *Unpublished. Noticed in Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1921-22, p. 120.
- V. S. 1245 Buddhagayā Buddhist inscription. *Proceedings of Beng. A. S.*, 1880, p. 77 ; Kiel. No. 177.



## Harischandradeva—

V. S. 1253 Machhlishwar plate (now Lucknow Museum),  
*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 93\*

[V. S. 1253 Belkharā pillar inscription (in *situ*), *Arch.  
Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XI, p. 129, *J.A.S.B.*, 1911,  
p. 760.

This does not give the name of the king of Kanauj but he  
must be Harischandradeva.]

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\*By Mr. Hirānand Śāstrī the date was read as 1253 but it was read as 1257  
by Mr. R. D. Banarji. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1911, p. 152 and catalogue of Archaeological  
Exhibits in the Lucknow Museum, p. 37.

## II—The Area of Orissa in Hiuen Tsang's Time

By Binayak Mishra

Hiuen Tsang has given the areas of almost all the countries he visited in India, but the readers of his accounts can form no definite idea about them. I shall try to discuss here the area of Orissa, as given by Hiuen Tsang, so that it may be easy for scholars to form an idea as to the space each country covered during the Chinese traveller's visit to India.

Hiuen Tsang stated that the area of Ucha country was 7,000 *li* (i.e. about 2,700 miles). It is difficult to ascertain what sort of measurement it was. Had it been 7,000 square *li*, we could have turned it into square miles. According to the modern method of survey, no quantity of land can be represented by simple *li* or mile. But even now the people of the Feudatory States in Orissa use simple *kosas* or *kosas* in giving the area of a state. For instance, the Bamra State has an area of 80 *kosa* (160 miles or 400 *li*) as the people of the locality say, while the area of this State is 1,988 square miles according to the topographical survey of recent times. Thus we see that the former area greatly differs from the latter. I, therefore, use here the term "local area" when giving an area of the former class.

The Keonjhar State has a local area of 120 *kosas*, while according to the topographical survey its area is 3,096 square miles. It is now evident that the local area of the Keonjhar State is one and a half times that of the Bamra State, as is exactly proved when the areas of both the states available by the topographical survey area taken into consideration. Hence, the local areas of the Feudatory States are not quite inaccurate.

Hiuen Tsang must have recorded the area of each country in India as was then current among the people. I am inclined to hold that the areas in use in Hiuen Tsang's time are of the same standard as is now prevalent in the Feudatory States in Orissa. If it be so, we can easily get the area of Orissa of the seventh century A.C. as may be intelligible to scholars.

It may also be noted here that according to the local traditions the chiefs of the Feudatory States were engaged in fighting each other before the British rule was established over Orissa and consequently there have, very likely, been made some additions and alterations in the areas of some states, but the people being unconscious of them give the same area of each state, which was prevalent before the additions and alterations were made. We, however, can safely take 23 square miles for one *kosa* of local area, while we get 25 square miles for one *kosa*. Thus we can reasonably suppose that the area of Orissa was not less than 30,000 square miles during the seventh century A.C. Let me adduce other facts in support of this supposition.

It is stated in the copper-plate charter of Tribhubhana Mahādevī of Kara dynasty (*J.B.O.R.S.*, 1916) that the charter was issued from "Śubheśvara Paṭaka". The grant of Śubhāṅkara Deva<sup>1</sup> of the eighth century A.C. (edited by R. D. Banerjee, E.I., Vol. XVI) is said to have been issued from "Śubhadeva Paṭaka". "Śubheśvara Paṭaka" and "Śubhadeva Paṭaka" both are in my opinion one and the same place. Again, the grants of Daṇḍimahādevī, the daughter of the aforesaid Tribhubhana Mahādevī, were issued from Guheśvara Paṭaka (*vide* E.I., Vol. VI, pp. 133-145). These places, Śubheśvara and Guheśvara, are to be identified in Jajpur, a subdivisional headquarters in the district of Cuttack in Orissa, because there stand two temples under these two names. Again, the poet Sarala Das of the fifteenth century A.C. mentions in his famous work Mahābhārata that Viṣṇukara, the first king of Kara dynasty, established his rule over Śivapura, a holy place, with the aid of Bhīma the brother of Yudhiṣṭhira. This Śivapura may be identified

<sup>1</sup> The editor of the plate reads Śubhākara whereas Śubhāṅkara is distinct.

with Śivadāspur, one mile from Jajpur town, because there stands the temple of Śubheśvara in its vicinity. From these evidences we can very reasonably infer that Jajpur was the capital of ancient Orissa. In that case, Hiuen Tsang's Che-li-tol is to be identified with Puri, because there is no other place in Orissa which can possibly be identical with it. Hiuen Tsang said that Che-li-tol was on the south-east frontier of the country on the borders of the ocean and it was the trade centre and there were also some Deva temples. I, therefore, infer that Che-li-tol must have been written by Hiuen Tsang for Śrīkṣetra which is another name of Puri. If it be so, we can suppose that Ucha country extended up to Puri in the south.

It is stated by the poet Kālidāsa that the troops of Raghu were shown their way towards the Kalinga country by the Utkala people after they had crossed the river Kapiśā or modern Cossai in the Midnapore district. From this we can gather that the Utkala territory extended up to the bank of the Cossai in the north in ancient times. Again, it is mentioned in the Hari-vamśa (Ch. X) that the Utkalas and Gayas were two allied races. It may therefore be said that the Utkala country was bounded by the district of Gaya in the north-west; this is also borne out by the epigraphic records of the Sulki family of Gondmaṇḍala. This Gondamaṇḍala is to be undoubtedly identified with the tracts covered by three Feudatory States—Gangpur, Bonai and Bamra, where the Gonds are now found in a large number, as the river Śāṅkhajoti mentioned in the grant of Kulastambha Deva (*J.B.O.R.S.*, 1916, pp. 400-404) is distinctly identical with the river Sankhajod, a tributary of the Brāhmaṇī. In the 13th line of the grant of Jayastambha Deva (*ibid* pp. 405-409) Odesa people have been said to have inhabited the village which was granted to a Brahmin. Utkalas and Odras are one and the same people and they are to be identified with the Odesas of epigraphic records, and again, these Odesas are distinctly identical with the Oda Chasas or Tasas of Orissa. In that case it is not probable that Gondamaṇḍala was within Orissa in ancient times.

The area of the present political Orissa is 40,000 square miles. The states of Kalahandi, Patna, Sonpur and Baud were, very likely, not within the Orissa Province in Hiuen Tsang's time, though the Utkala people were dominant in these states. Some portions of the district of Sambalpur are also supposed by scholars to have been included in the Southern Kosal. Again the southern portions of Khurda subdivision in the district of Puri may be supposed to have been included in the Kongada country or the modern Ganjam district which is said in the epigraphic records to have been dominated by the Odra people. Hence the boundaries of ancient Orissa I have discussed above, will very likely be convincing to scholars, because the area of the tracts within the boundaries mentioned above, is not less than 3,000 square miles. In conclusion it may be suggested to scholars that at least  $4\frac{1}{2}$  square miles should be taken for one  $li$  to get the areas of other countries Hiuen Tsang visited.

### III—A Note on Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi.

By B. Singh Deo, B.A.

The first glimpse we get of Mayūrbhanj is that afforded by the Jaina preachers who had given accounts of this country in their sacred scriptures. Formerly it was known as "Vajjabhūmi". And Mayūrbhañj is still called "Bhañjabhūmi". Perhaps "Vajjabhūmi" is the corrupt form of "Bhañjabhūmi". Most probably the rulers of this land were designated as "Bhañja-bhūpati" (*Orissa in the Making*, p. 124).

Mr. M. M. Chakravarty held in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), Vol. IV, pp. 285, 286 :—

In the Āyārāṅga-sūtra, ranking among the oldest Jaina scriptures, the Māhāvīra "travelled in the pathless countries of the Lādhas, in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi; he used there miserable beds and miserable seats. Even in the faithful part of the rough country, the dogs bit him, ran at him. Few people kept off the attacking, biting dogs. Striking the monk they cried chu-chū, and made the dogs bite him. Such were the inhabitants. Many other mendicants, eating rough food in Vajjabhūmi, and carrying about a strong pole or a stalk (to keep off the dogs) lived there. Even thus armed they were bitten by dogs, torn by the dogs. It is difficult to travel in Lādha." But unfortunately, Mr. Chakravarty has identified these two countries with Rādha and Suhma, respectively. Lādha may not be the corrupt form of Rādha. It comes from the original Sanskrit word "Lubdhaka", i.e. a hunter. And its Pāli form is "Luddo" which in its turn has changed to Lādha. Lādhas are a hill tribe. They belong to the Chuhār class. Hunting is their chief profession and they are very fond of keeping dogs



for this purpose. Still they are predominant in the hilly tracts of Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi and their customs and manners are very rude. Farther, the Jainas were not foreign travellers. The names of the different parts of the country were well known to them. We cannot expect such a gross mistake from them that they would write Lādha in the place of Rādha.

It is therefore possible to identify these two countries with modern "Bhañjabhūmi" and "Simhabhūmi", i.e. the present district of Singhbhum.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

### I—International Law in Ancient India

By S. V. Viswanatha, M.A., pp. x. 214 : *Longmans*, Rs. 6.

It is doubtful whether there was anything which can correctly be described as International Law in Ancient India. International Law, in any strict sense of the term, is essentially a modern growth. It is only in comparatively recent times that there have existed nations which, on the one hand, are characterised by so extreme a particularism as to have practically no common ties, and which yet are brought day by day into the closest diplomatic relations with one another. These are the two fundamental conditions which have given rise to the purely artificial but highly elaborate body of rules which constitutes International Law. Where the extreme particularism of which we have spoken is absent—as, for example, among the self-governing units which make up the British Commonwealth of Nations, or again among the great fiefs included in the Mediæval Empire of Western Europe (to say nothing of the unifying influence of Papal authority); or even among the politically independent city-states of Ancient Greece, whose common civilisation made them one and Hellenic in spite of all their differences—it is clearly a straining of language to describe as International Law the rules and conventions governing the normal relations between the component units. But it is precisely this type of only partially differentiated units (whether we call them “national” units, or not) which we find in Ancient India. On the other hand, where the particularism was marked—as, for example, between India and China, in the ancient world—diplomatic

intercourse, except of the most rudimentary and intermittent kind, and with it International Law, was practically non-existent.

This, indeed, is a fundamental objection to what—scholarly and well-documented as it is—purports to be a treatise on International Law in Ancient India ; and one cannot but regret that so much erudition has, from this point of view, been obviously misapplied. Moreover, whatever our definition of International Law, the modern terminology which Mr. Viswanatha employs—rights and obligations, and the rest—is manifestly out of place ; and the author's elaborate scheme of classification, borrowed from modern text-books on the subject, besides being inappropriate, involves much needless repetition. Finally, a good deal of what the author has to tell us—interesting as it may be, in itself—has not the remotest connection with International Law, however loosely defined.

The material strictly relevant to his subject, as Mr. Viswanatha has defined it, boils down, as one would have expected, to very little. The inviolability of the person of a duly accredited ambassador was universally recognised. To say, however, as Mr. Viswanatha does (p. 76), that an ambassador was “ exempt from local jurisdiction,” is surely an unwarrantable translation of the present into the past ; while, as a matter of fact, the author cites (p. 18), on the authority of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, “ certain recognised punishments that could be meted out to an offending envoy”. What Mr. Viswanatha has to tell us (p. 167) about the pledges, usually in the shape of hostages, designed to strengthen treaty obligations, is interesting ; but it is in a somewhat uncritical spirit that he observes (p. 50) that “ in most cases, non-fulfilment of the conditions of a treaty implied not only the odium of the other states, but war against it by the others and its possible extinction”. His treatment of what he calls the “ general ethics of warfare ” is marked by the same uncritical spirit. We cannot well accept his statement (p. 156), whatever his authority, that “ such fields were chosen as sites for battle as

were uninhabited or little frequented by the peaceful population"; nor can we accept the statement, made on the authority of Megasthenes, (p. 17) that "the combatants on either side allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested". When he writes (p. 148) that "it was agreed that only warriors placed in similar circumstances should encounter each other in fair and open combat", or (p. 153) that "a warrior who is fighting with another should never be killed" (by a third party), we are reminded of the mediæval tourney and the ideals of the Age of Chivalry rather than of the sober actualities which characterise even the most civilised warfare. It is puzzling to be told (p. 143 fn.) that all Kshatriyas "were bound by birth to render voluntary (*sic*) aid to the state in time of war"; and one would like to know more about the *S'reni*, or guild troops (p. 139). It was very generally recognised that the lives of those seeking quarter were to be spared (p. 153), and that a spy, when discovered, deserved no quarter (p. 146). Particularly interesting is what Mr. Viswanatha tells us, drawn from the *Arthasāstra*, about the Mauryan regulations relative to foreign shipping, especially in time of war (cf. p. 200, and *passim*), and about the quasi-consular functions, described by Megasthenes, which were exercised by the second Municipal Board at Chandragupta's capital (cf. p. 53; p. 69 fn.). Of exceptional interest and importance is the discussion, contained in the last chapter, of what constituted neutrality (and the different degrees of neutrality) on the part of a ruler, whose neighbours were engaged in war.

The jurisdiction of the state over the property and persons of its own nationals (p. 42), and the limits thereto (p. 51), the espionage system under Kautilya (p. 76), are matters of public law and administration, not of international law. The importance attached to the "balance of power" (p. 50) and to dynastic marriages (p. 105) are questions of statecraft; the personal qualifications of ambassadors (p. 82), the principles governing the division of the spoils of war (p. 155), are equally foreign to the subject in hand.

In reading this treatise, one is struck afresh, it may be noticed in conclusion, by the remarkable likeness which exists, not only in point of view but actually in turn of speech, between Kautilya (whose *Arthśāstra* is naturally Mr. Viswanatha's leading source-book) and Machiavelli. Striking instances, which may be mentioned, are to be found in Kautilya's grouping of foreign states (pp. 33-34); in the high place which he assigns to diplomatic statecraft ("An arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a person, but the skilful diplomacy of a wise man kills even those unborn", says Kautilya; cf. p. 113); in his shrewd, and often cynical, observations regarding the proper treatment of a conquered people and the behaviour of the conqueror (p. 175; pp. 177-81). Incidentally, it may be observed that Machiavelli was, in historical fact, just such an ambassador of state as Kautilya himself would have wished to be.

Mr. Viswanatha's treatise—which, in spite of the foregoing strictures, is well worth study—is both eminently readable, and is furnished with a good index.

E. A. H.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

### I.—Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's office on the 30th January 1927.

#### PRESENT.

Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President (in the chair).

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Choudhury.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 21st November 1926.

2. Placed on record the Society's appreciation of the services of the late Sir John Bucknill.

3. Elected the following new members :—

The Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Mr. Tarapada Bhattacharya, Lecturer, B. N. College, Patna.

Mr. Bimanbihari Majumdar, Lecturer, B. N. College, Patna.

Dr. P. A. Vaidya, M.A., D. LITT., Willingdon College, Satara.

Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., Partabgarh, U.P.

4. Read and recorded Memo. No. 75, dated the 4th January 1927, from the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department regarding the sanction of the Government for printing the Buchanan Report in the Government Press.



5. Considered and accepted the exchange of publications with the Andhra Historical Research Society and with the Journal of Oriental Research as long as they would continue their publications. To write to the Bombay Natural History Society our willingness to exchange but inability to subscribe.

6. Confirmed the payment of Rs. 88-11-0 to Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda for his travelling allowance for Mayurbhanj Lecture.

7. Confirmed the payment to the Oriya Pandit of Rs. 43-10-0 as travelling expenses from Patna to Dhenkanal from the General Fund.

8. Considered and rejected an application of the Mithila Pandit for counting as privilege leave the period of his remaining out of the services of the Society.

9. Considered two letters, dated the 21st and the 23rd November 1926, from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. Resolved that the printed circular of the Kern Institute, Leyden, be circulated to members along with the December issue of the Journal.

10. Discussed arrangements for the Annual General Meeting to be held in March 1927. Resolved to write to the following gentleman requesting him to address the Society on the occasion :—

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gananath Sen, M.A., L.M.S.

11. Read a letter from the Director of L'École Française d'Extrême Orient expressing inability to reduce the price of Volumes I—XX of their Bulletin. The Secretary to write to Mr. Armour, a member of the Society now in France, to try to procure the volumes for about Rs. 300 if possible.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI,

*Honorary General Secretary.*

## **II.—Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's office, High Court Chambers, on Sunday, 13th March 1927, at 10 p.m.**

### **PRESENT.**

Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President (in the chair).

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhury.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. J. N. Sen.

Mr. P. C. Manuk.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 30th January 1927.

2. Elected the following as new members :—

Mr. Adhar Chandra Ghosh, B.Sc., Assistant Curator,  
Patna Museum.

Mr. Tarapada Chaudhury, B.A., Patna College.

Mr. Samsuddin Ahmad, M.A., Lecturer in Law, Ravenshaw  
College, Cuttack.

3. The following arrangements were made for the next Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held in the Wheeler Senate House on the 22nd March 1927 :—

(i) H. E. Sir Henry Wheeler, President of the Society, will preside.

(ii) Presentation of the Annual Report by the General Secretary.

(iii) Presentation of a Statement of Accounts by the Treasurer.

(iv) Mr. Fawcus to move on behalf of the Council, that the amended rules of the Society be adopted.

(v) The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick to move, on behalf of the Council, that the following be elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1927-28 :—

President—H. E. the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

Vice-President—V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

General Secretary—E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board—

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Editor.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D., Associate Editor.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A., Member.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President,

General Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian)—

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.—Vice-President.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, Kt.

G. E. Fawcus, Esq., M.A., O.B.E., C.I.E.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.

P. C. Manuk, Esq., Bar-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhury.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

(vi) Review by the Vice-President (Mr. V.H. Jackson) of the work of the Society during the past year.

(vii) Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gananath Sen to address the Society on the subject of "Ancient Indian Medicine".

4. Read and recorded a letter No. 1453-R., dated the 9th February 1927, from the Assistant Secretary to Government, Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department, regarding the purchase of the Buchanan Report by the Local Government.

5. A committee was appointed, consisting of the Vice-President, the Librarian and the General Secretary, to prepare a list of furniture for the Research Society in its new premises.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI,

*Honorary General Secretary.*

### **III.—Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 22nd March 1927, in the Wheeler Senate House, Patna, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, presiding.**

1. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, Honorary General Secretary, presented the Annual Report of the Society for 1926-27, which was taken as read.

2. Mr. D. N. Sen, Honorary Treasurer, presented the Annual Statement of Accounts for 1926-27, which was taken as read.

3. Mr. G. E. Fawcett moved, on behalf of the Council, that the amended rules of the Society be adopted. Carried.

4. Mr. P. C. Manuk moved, on behalf of the Council, that the following be elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1927-28:—

President—H. E. the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

Vice-President—V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

General Secretary—E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board—

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Editor.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Associate Editor.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A., Member.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, General Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian):—

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.—Vice-President.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, Kt.

G. E. Fawcus, Esq., M.A., O.B.E., C.I.E.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

P. C. Manuk, Esq., Bar.-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Carried.

5. The Vice-President (Mr. V. H. Jackson) reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

6. Owing to the absence, due to illness, of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gananath Sen, Mr. Jackson addressed the Society on the recent archaeological finds at Patna some of which were exhibited at the meeting.

7. His Excellency the President, before notifying his resignation, addressed the meeting and expressed his satisfaction with the progress of the Society during his term of office.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI,

*Honorary General Secretary.*



## **IV.—Annual Report of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for 1926-27.**

### **I.—Membership**

The total number of ordinary members actually enrolled on the 31st December 1925 was 173. During 1926 the Society lost three members by death the total loss being three. The accessions to membership during the same period were as follows: twelve new members were elected (including three institutions, which became subscribers to the Journal), of whom nine paid their subscriptions and were enrolled—making a total net gain of six. Hence the total number of ordinary members actually enrolled on the 31st December 1926 was 179. A new life-member was elected this year, but has not yet paid his subscription. The total number of life-members actually enrolled remains 13, therefore. The total number of honorary members of the Society has been raised from 12 to 14 by the addition of the distinguished names of Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham and Dr. J. Jolly of the Wurzburg University: making a grand total of 206 members.

### **II.—Journal**

The four quarterly parts of Volume XII (1926) and the index to Volume XI have been published during the period under review. Part I of Volume XIII (March 1927) is in the Press.

An attractive feature of recent issues of the Journal has been the number of plates to illustrate contributions on Epigraphy and History.

The Editor of the Journal, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, has received valuable assistance from Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri throughout the year.

### III.—Meeting

The last annual general meeting of the Society was held on the 17th March 1926, the president of the Society, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, presiding. The Vice-President (Mr. V. H. Jackson) reviewed the work of the Society during the past year, and an address on the subject "Some Living Problems of Buddhism" was delivered by Mr. J. Van Manen, General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On the 9th April 1926 a quarterly meeting was held, the Vice-President (Mr. V. H. Jackson) presiding: when Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-Law, delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on the subject "Glimpses into the story of Pictorial Art in India". On the 18th November 1926 another quarterly meeting was held, Sir B. K. Mullick presiding, when Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on "Antiquities in Mayurbhanj".

Meetings of the Council elected at the last Annual Meeting, were held on the 1st August, the 26th September, the 21st November 1926 and on the 30th January and 13th March 1927.

### IV.—Library

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh continues to be Honorary Librarian.

The acquisition during 1926 numbered 166 volumes (Sanskrit and Pali 22), representing 142 books—of which 11 were purchased, 47 presented and 84 received in exchange. On the 31st December 1926 the Library contained 3,264 as compared with 3,098 volumes at the end of 1925. We are trying to complete the series in the Bulletin De L'École Française D'Extrême Orient. Rs. 300, the balance of the sum set up for the purchase of books for the year under report, has been set apart for the purpose. The sum of Rs. 10,000, given by the Maharaja Lieutenant Purna Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanj, was received in December 1926. Lists of books that are to be purchased in this connection are being prepared.

### V.—Search for manuscripts

The Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga has given Rs. 5,000 as a first instalment towards meeting the cost of publication of the descriptive catalogue of Mithila Sanskrit MSS., prepared under the supervision of Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Banerji-Sastri. The catalogue will be complete in 22 parts contained in 8 volumes. The printing of the first volume—on Dharmaśāstra—is finished; and it is hoped that it will be ready for publication shortly, with critical introduction and index. The printing of the catalogue has been entrusted to the Khadgavilas Press, Bankipore.

The search for Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. was continued during the year, the field of work being now the Bhagalpur district. From an examination of the materials already to hand, it is hoped that the selection of this field will be justified by the results.

Government having given the necessary financial assistance, an Oriya Pandit was appointed on the 15th September 1926 to resume the search for Sanskrit MSS. in Orissa and is at present working in Dhenkanal. His services will also be utilised to prepare, with a view to publication, a descriptive catalogue of the Oriya Sanskrit MSS. already catalogued.

### VI.—General

The Society has suffered a serious loss in the death of Sir John Bucknill and the resignation of Professor Jadunath Sarkar. Lieutenant Maharaja Purna Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanj was elected a Vice-Patron and made a gift of Rs. 10,000 to the Society.

It is gratifying to be able to record that the building for the Patna Museum, at an estimated cost of two and three-quarter lakhs, is now under construction. In the same building suitable accommodation will be provided for the library and offices of the Research Society.

Exchange of publications has been effected with the following since the date of the last annual report :—

Director of Archaeology, Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.

Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

Journal, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajamundry.

#### VII.—Finance.

The annual statement of accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI,

*Honorary General Secretary.*

#### Statement of Accounts for 1926-27.

The balance on the 31st March 1926 was Rs. 13,974-10-6. The income up to February 1927 was Rs. 17,953-2-8 and the expenditure, Rs. 25,761-2-11. Of the latter, Rs. 14,000 represents the transfer to fixed deposit out of the Hathwa, Darbhanga and Mayurbharj donations. The net financial result is a balance of Rs. 6,196-10-3. Together with the transferred amount it makes a total of Rs. 20,196. The financial condition of the Society is sound.

On the income side we have to record gratefully the handsome donation of Rs. 10,000 from H. H. the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, which will be spent on the library. Under the head subscription, the figure, though below the budgetted amount, is actually larger than the actuals for the last year by Rs. 603-10-0. The income from the sale of the journal has been Rs. 325-2-0 as against Rs. 1,052-1-6. This is a serious falling off but the increase under the head subscription very nearly balances the deficit under this item.

On the expenditure side there is an unspent balance of Rs. 408-9-1 under library. The accounts, however, represent the transactions up to the end of February only.

D. N. SEN,

*Honorary Treasurer.*

**Accounts from 1st April 1926 to 28th February 1927.****EXPENDITURE.**

				Budget.	Actual.
				Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment	...	...	...	1,200 0 0	985 7 6
Mithila Pandit	...	...	...	1,200 0 0	981 12 0
Printing Journal	...	...	...	1,789 0 0	6,614 14 0
Postage	...	...	...	340 0 0	219 5 9
Books	...	...	...	1,000 0 0	591 6 11
Stationery	...	...	...	100 0 0	86 3 0
Furniture	...	...	...	150 0 0	...
Telephone	...	...	...	225 0 0	245 0 0
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	800 0 0	954 12 0
Transferred to fixed deposit	...	...	...	...	14,000 0 0
Oriya Pandit	...	...	...	600 0 0	329 3 9
Out of Darbhanga fund	...	...	...	2,500 0 0	23 11 6
Out of Hathwa fund	...	...	...	2,500 0 0	416 4 6
Paper for Journal	...	...	...	...	313 2 0
				18,404 0 0	25,761 2 11
Closing balance	...	...	...	15,590 10 6	6,196 10 2
				33,994 10 6	31,957 13 2

**Actual for 1925-26****INCOME.**

HEADS.					Rs. a. p.
Government Grant for—					
Office expenses	...	...	...	...	1,000 0 0
Rent and taxes	...	...	...	...	300 0 0
Journal	...	...	...	...	2,500 0 0
Mithila Pandit	...	...	...	...	1,200 0 0
Library	...	...	...	...	1,000 0 0
Oriya Pandit	...	...	...	...	680 0 0
Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	1,085 6 0
Sale of Journal	...	...	...	...	1,069 9 6
Darbhanga donation	...	...	...	...	5,000 0 0
Other receipts	...	...	...	...	330 0 0
				Total	14,164 15 6
				Opening balance	7,753 9 9
					21,918 9 3

## HEADS.

## EXPENDITURE.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	...	...	...	...	1,018	0	0
Mithila Pandit	...	...	...	...	899	6	11
Printing Journal	...	...	...	...	1,870	14	0
Postage	...	...	...	...	311	3	0
Library	...	...	...	...	2,565	3	11
Stationery	...	...	...	...	44	10	6
Furniture	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Telephone	...	...	...	...	225	0	0
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	708	2	2
Refund of scale-proceeds of Journal	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Darbhangra fund	...	...	...	...	28	0	0
Hathwa fund	...	...	...	...	263	6	3
Oriya Pandit	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total					7,943	14	9
Closing balance					13,974	10	6
					21,918	9	3



# V.—LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY ON 31ST DECEMBER 1926.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A. ...	1919	Professor A. L., University de Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT. D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph. D., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1920	Crammer Lodge, Camberley, Surrey, England.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.-LITT., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., S.C.D., F.E.S.	1916	3, Crammer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ...	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Jolly, Dr. Julius ...	1926	Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, University of Wurzburg, Bavaria, Germany.
8	Konow, Dr. Sten ...	1920	Sorgen Frigate 9, Christiania, Norway.
9	Levi, M. Sylvain ...	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, L' Université de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, Paris.
10	Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I. ...	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S. W. 7.
11	Ridgeway, Sir William, M.A., Sc. D., F.B.A., Ph. D., LITT. D.	1916	Professor of Archaeology and Burton Reader in Classics, University of Cambridge.
12	Senart, M. E. ...	1919	18, Rue Fran Cois Ier., Paris (Ville).
13	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. Ph.D., F.E.S.	1919	India Office Library, London.
14	Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1919	C/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, S.W.

**LIFE MEMBERS.**

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Das, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. K., Bar-at-Law.	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharnidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P.O. Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Dharmapala, The Rev. Anagrika.	1918	4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
4	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna.	1918	Patna City.
5	Maharaja Bahadur Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo.	1920	Feudatory Chief of Mayurbhanj (Orissa).
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Maladeva Asram Prasad Shahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo ...	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
8	Shahi, Lieut. Madhavaswarendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
9	Shah, Hiralal Amritlal ...	1918	Princess Street, Champsai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
11	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
12	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Sursapura (Shahabad).
13	Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Keshava Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).

## ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
A			
1	Agarwala, C. M., Bar.-at-Law...	1920	Patna.
2	Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Kazi Farzandi.	1916	Sultan Manzil, Gaya.
3	Ahmad, Dr. Azimuddin, Ph. D.	1920	Patna College, Patna.
4	Aiyar, Prof. R. Sathianath ...	1923	St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, Madras.
5	Aiyangar, R. S., Dr. S. Krishna-swami, M.A., Ph.D.	1916	1, East Whedon Street, Mylapore, Madras.
6	Aiyangar, R. B., K. V. Banga-swami.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore.
7	Anderson, C. W. ...	1917	B.-N. Ry. New Flats, Garden Reach Road, Kidderpur, Calcutta.
8	Armour, Prof. T. S., M.A. ...	1926	Patna College, Patna.
9	Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle.	1921	Kilpank, Madras.
10	Assistant Secretary to Government, U. P., Executive Department.	1917	Civil Secretariat, Allahabad.
B			
1	Banerji, R. D. ...	1924	Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Calcutta.
2	Baroliya, Hazarimal ...	1924	Mahabirjee Mills, Darbbanga.
3	Batheja, Prof. H. B., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
4	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. B. ...	1924	35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
5	Bhaté, Prof. G. S., M.A., I.E.S.	1919	Patna College, Patna.
6	Bhide, H. B. ...	1918	Devanpur Road, Navapark, Bhawanagar.
7	Bhattacharya, Prof. S. N., M.A.	1923	B. N. College, Patna.
8	Bhattacharya, Benoyatosh, M.A.	1924	Madanjhanp, Oriental Library, Baroda.
9	Bodding, The Rev. P. O. ...	1918	Mohulpaharis, Santal Parganas.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
C			
1	Chakladar, Haran Chandra, M.A.	1916	28-4, Sabanagar Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta.
2	Chattarji, Dr. Sunitikumar ...	1924	Professor of Phonetics, Calcutta University.
3	Convener, Library Committee	1925	Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.
4	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K.	1923	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass, U.S.A.
5	Christian, H. D., I.C.S. ...	1920	Sundargarh, via Jharsuguda, B.-N. Ry.
6	Curator, Provincial Museum ...	1919	Lucknow.
7	Curator, State Museum ...	1919	Trichur.
8	Curator, Gujrat Puratatwa-mandir.	1925	Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.
D			
1	Das, Pandit Kashinath ...	1919	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
2	Das, Madhusudan ...	1918	Head Master, Sambalpur Zila School, Sambalpur.
3	Das, U. K. ...	1918	Srinath Mills, 10, Srinath Das, Lane, Bowbazar, Calcutta.
4	Das, Rai Sahib Shyamsunder	1918	Hindu University, Benares.
5	Datta, M. N. ...	1915	Mica Merchant, Giridih.
6	Dayal, Shiveshwar, M.A., B.L.	1920	Vakil, Patna High Court.
7	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitro-daya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur, Orissa.
8	Deo, Sri Gopinath, Tatwanidhi	1924	P. O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
9	Diskalkar, D. B., M.A. ...	1920	Curator, Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot.
10	Duke, W. V., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1920	Principal, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
E			
1	Epigraphist, Government ...	1921	Fernhill, Nilgiris.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	F		
1	Fawcus, G. E., M.A., O.B.E. ...	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
2	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E. ...	1915	Arthurstown, Ardee County, Louth, Ireland.
	G		
1	Ghosh, Bai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
2	Godbole, Y. A., I.C.S. ...	1920	Purnea.
3	Graves, H. G. ...	1916	Cardington Road, Bedford, England.
4	Gupta, Shiva Prasad ...	1918	Nandan Sahu's Street, Benares City.
	H		
1	Hoeck, Rev. L. Van, S.J. ...	1921	Bishop of Patna.
2	Horne, E. A., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1916	Patna College, Patna.
3	Hussain, Saiyad Muhammad, M.L.C.	1924	Dariapur, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
	I		
1	Imam, Nawab Shamsul Ulema Saiyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, District Patna.
	J		
1	Jackson, V. H., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1915	Principal, Patna College, Patna.
2	Jain Chotelal, M.A. ...	1920	53-1, Bartala Street, Calcutta.
3	Jalan, Onkarmal ...	1924	Patna City.
4	James, J. F. W., I.C.S. ...	1923	District Court, Patna.
5	Jaruhar, Rameswar Prasad ...	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
6	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A., Bar-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
7	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ...	1925	Vakil, High Court, Patna.
	K		
1	Kar, Karunakar, M.A. ...	1924	Principal, Sanskrit College, Puri.
2	Khan, K. B. Sarfraz Hussain	1916	Khawajekalan, Patna City.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
3	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ...	1924	Secretary, Hindu Library, 12, Shib Thakur's Lane, Calcutta.
4	Khuda Bux, S. ...	1920	Additional Superintendent of Police, Patna.
5	Khosla, R. P., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1921	G.B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
6	Kimura, R. ...	1920	22, Wellesley Second Lane, Calcutta.
7	Kuraishi, Mahammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Assistant Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
L			
1	Lall, Rai Bahadur Hira ...	1918	Retired Deputy Commissioner, Jabbalpur, C. P.
2	Lall, Rai Sahib Bihari ...	1920	Ex-Manager, Raj Darbhanga, Siakot City.
3	Lall, Rai Bahadur P. C. ...	1924	Zamindar of Nayanagar, Purnea City.
4	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1920	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
5	Law, Bimalacharan ...	1921	24, Sukea Street, Calcutta.
6	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
7	Librarian, Government Sanskrit Library.	1915	Benares City.
8	Librarian, New York Public Library.	1915	42, Street and 5th Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
9	Librarian, Dacca University Library.	1915	P. O. Ramna, Dacca.
10	Librarian, Osmania University College Library.	1915	Hyderabad, Deccan.
11	Librarian, Lucknow University Library.	1915	Lucknow.
12	Librarian, Allahabad University, Department of Sanskrit.	1925	Allahabad.
13	Librarian, University Library	1925	Madras.
14	Librarian, McGill University Library.	1925	Montreal, Canada.



No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	M		
1	Macpherson, T. S., Hon'ble Justice, C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
2	Mackenzie, W. ...	1916	Superintendent, Government Press, Patna.
3	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantrai.	1924	P. O, Bhadrak, District Balasore.
4	Maharajadhiraj, Bahadur of Burdwan (Hon'ble)	1920	Burdwan.
5	Mahashaya, Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshamnath, Balasore.
6	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Zamindar. Muzaffarpur.
7	Mahatha, Ganga Prasad ...	1920	Hindu University, Benares.
8	Majumdar, S. N., M.A. ...	1920	G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
9	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ...	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
10	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda	1924	Patna City.
11	Manager, Court of Wards, Kalakaukar Estate.	1926	Partabgarh (Oudh).
12	Manuk, P. C., Bar-at-Law ...	1920	Patna.
13	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	C/o. Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1.
14	Metropolitan, The Rt. Revd. ...	1915	The Palace, Calcutta.
15	Miller, The Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir F. D.	1919	Patna.
16	Mishra, Pandit Godavaris ...	1924	P. O. Panpur, District Puri.
17	Mishra, Aditya Narayan ...	1926	Nasriganj, Digha P.O., Patna.
18	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. ...	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
19	Mukerjee, Dr. Radhakumud M.A., Ph. D.	1917	Lucknow.
20	Mullick, Hon'ble Justice Sir B. K., Kt.	1921	Patna.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	
	N		
1	Nabar, Puranchand, M.A., B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
2	Noor, K. B. Khwaja Muhammad Noor.	1915	Gaya.
	O		
1	Officer-in-charge, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum.	1918	Calcutta.
2	Ojha, R. B. Gaurishankar Hirachand.	1920	Ajmere.
3	(Herren) Otto Harrassowitz, Buch und lung und Antiquariat.	1925	Leipzig, Germany.
	P		
1	Patnaik, Jagannath ...	1920	Pal Lahara Feudatory State, Pal Lahara, Orissa.
2	Patnaik, Sudhakar ...	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector and Assistant Settlement Officer, Bargarh, Sambalpur.
3	Pandeya, Sahadeva Narayan, M.A.	1925	Patna.
4	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1925	Mukteswaram, Tototar mundi, P. O. Godavari District.
5	Parsanis, Rao Bahadur D. B.	1920	Historical Museum, Satara.
6	Peppé, A. T. ...	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
7	Perier, Rev. F. J., S.J. ...	1915	32, Park Street, Calcutta.
8	Pettor, A. B. ...	1915	Subdivisional Officer, Saran.
9	Praval, E. C. ...	1915	Superintendent of Income-Tax, Ranchi.
10	Prasad, R. B. Surya ...	1915	Government Pleader, Bhagalpur.
11	Prasad, Murari, B.L. ...	1924	Vakil, High Court, Patna.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
12	Prasad, Hon'ble Justice Sir Jwala.	1916	High Court, Patna.
13	Prasad, Murli Manohar ...	1924	Editor, <i>Searchlight</i> , Patna.
14	Prasad, Surya Prasad Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
15	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ...	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
16	Principal, M. C. College ...	1918	Sylhet.
17	Principal, Cotton College ...	1918	Gauhati.
18	Principal, Presidency College	1918	Calcutta
19	Principal, Rajshahi College ...	1918	Rajshahi.
20	Principal, D. J. Sindh College	1918	Karachi.
21	Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College.	1924	Vizianagram.
22	Principal, Holkar College ...	1925	Indore.
23	Principal, Morris College ...	1925	Nagpur.
R			
1	Ramdas, G., B.A. ...	1924	Headmaster, Board High School, Jajpur, Vizagapatam.
2	Rao, R. Subha, M.A. ...	1917	Government Arts College, Rajamundry.
3	Rao, S. Narasingh, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law.	1919	Atmakur P. O., Nellore District.
4	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal...	1915	Patna.
5	Ray, Rai Sahib S. K., M.A., B.L.	1919	Madhubani, District Darbhanga.
6	Ray, Rai Bahadur S. C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
7	Ray, N. N., M.A. ...	1917	Principal, Ripon College, Calcutta.
8	Registrar, Punjab University	1917	Lahore.
9	Registrar, Nagpur University	1925	Nagpur.
10	Richards, F. J. ...	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
11	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ...	1925	Dhauipur Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
12	Ross, Hon'ble Justice R. L. S	1917	Patna.
1	Sabnis, R. V. ...	1925	Librarian, Bombay University, Bombay.
2	Samaddar, Professor J. N., B.A.	1915	Patna College, Patna.
3	Sarkar, Gannapati ...	1920	Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
4	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
5	Sarkar, B. N., B.A., C.M. ...	1926	Ghoramara P. O., Bengal.
6	Secretary, Central Jain Oriental Library.	1925	Arrah.
7	Secretary, Raja Satchidanand Library.	1926	Deogarh, Sambalpur.
8	Seminary of Indian Philosophy	1926	College of Literature, Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan.
9	Sen, B. C., I.C.S. ...	1915	Cuttack.
10	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1916	Principal, B. N. College, Patna.
11	Sen, Rai Bahadur Nishikant	1915	Purnea.
12	Seppings, E. H. L. ...	1916	57E Lower Kemmendine, P. O. Rangoon.
13	Sharma, Prof. Ramavatar, M.A.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
14	Shastri, M. M. Haraprasad, M.A., C.I.E.	1915	P. O. Bamna, Dacca.
15	Shastri, Iswaridatta Daurgadatti.	1920	Sanskrit College, Muzaaffarpur.
16	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Patna.
17	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., Ph. D.	1923	Professor, Patna College, Patna.
18	Shaw, Farmanand ...	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
19	Singh, Kshemadhari... ..	1915	Senior Deorhi, Madhubani, Darbhanga.

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1	2	3	4
20	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
21	Singh, Rai Rajendralal ...	1916	Bariha of Barsambar, Sambalpur.
22	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	S.D.O., Supaul, Bhagalpur.
23	Singh, Hon'ble Maharajadhiraj Bahadur Sir Rameswar.	1915	Darbhanga.
24	Singh, Chandhari, Rai Bahadur Ramgopal.	1915	Chaudhuri Tola, P.O. Mahendru, Patna.
25	Singh, Radhaprasad ...	1920	Killa Bihar, P.O. Bihar, District Patna.
26	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
27	Singh, R. B. Ramaranvijaya ...	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.
28	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	K. V. Press, Patna.
29	Singh, Kumar Gangananand, M.A., M.L.A.	1924	Shrinagar, Purnea.
30	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Devarkunda, P. O. Nalgonda, Hyderabad, Deccan.
31	Sinha, S., Bar.-at-Law ...	1915	Patna.
32	Sinha, R. P. ...	1920	Kadamkuan, Patna.
33	Sinha, Bagiswari Prasad ..	1924	Searchlight Press, Patna.
34	Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle.	1919	Patna.
35	Surya Narayan, B.L. ...	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.
36	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Patna.
37	Syed, Muhammad ...	1924	Makhaniakuan, P. O. Bankipu, Patna.
T			
1	Tagore, K. N., B.A. ...	1926	5-1, Baranashi Ghosh 2nd Lane, Jorasanko, Calcutta.
2	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ...	1915	Principal, C. M. S., Bhagalpur.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
3	Telang, P. K. ...	1920	Theosophical Hall, Benares City.
4	Tripathi, Devadatta ... U	1916	Patna College, Patna.
1	Urdhwareshi, W. G., M.A. ... V	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore, C. I.
1	Vogel, Dr. J. Ph. ...	1920	University of Leiden, Witte, Sergeant, 75 Leiden, Holland.



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PART II.

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**BIHAR AND ORISSA**  
**RESEARCH SOCIETY.**

June



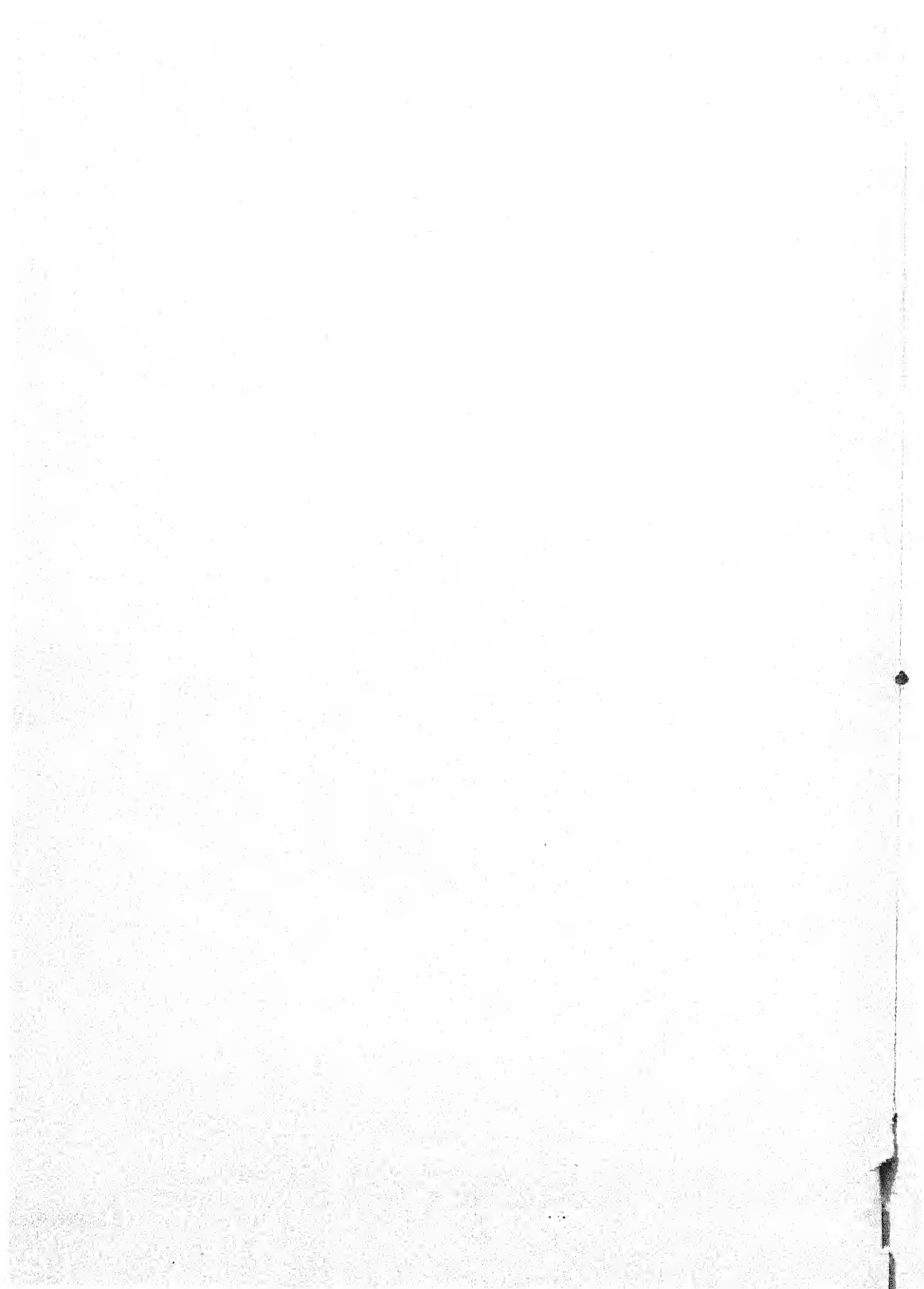
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# JOURNAL

## OF THE

### BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

June 1927.

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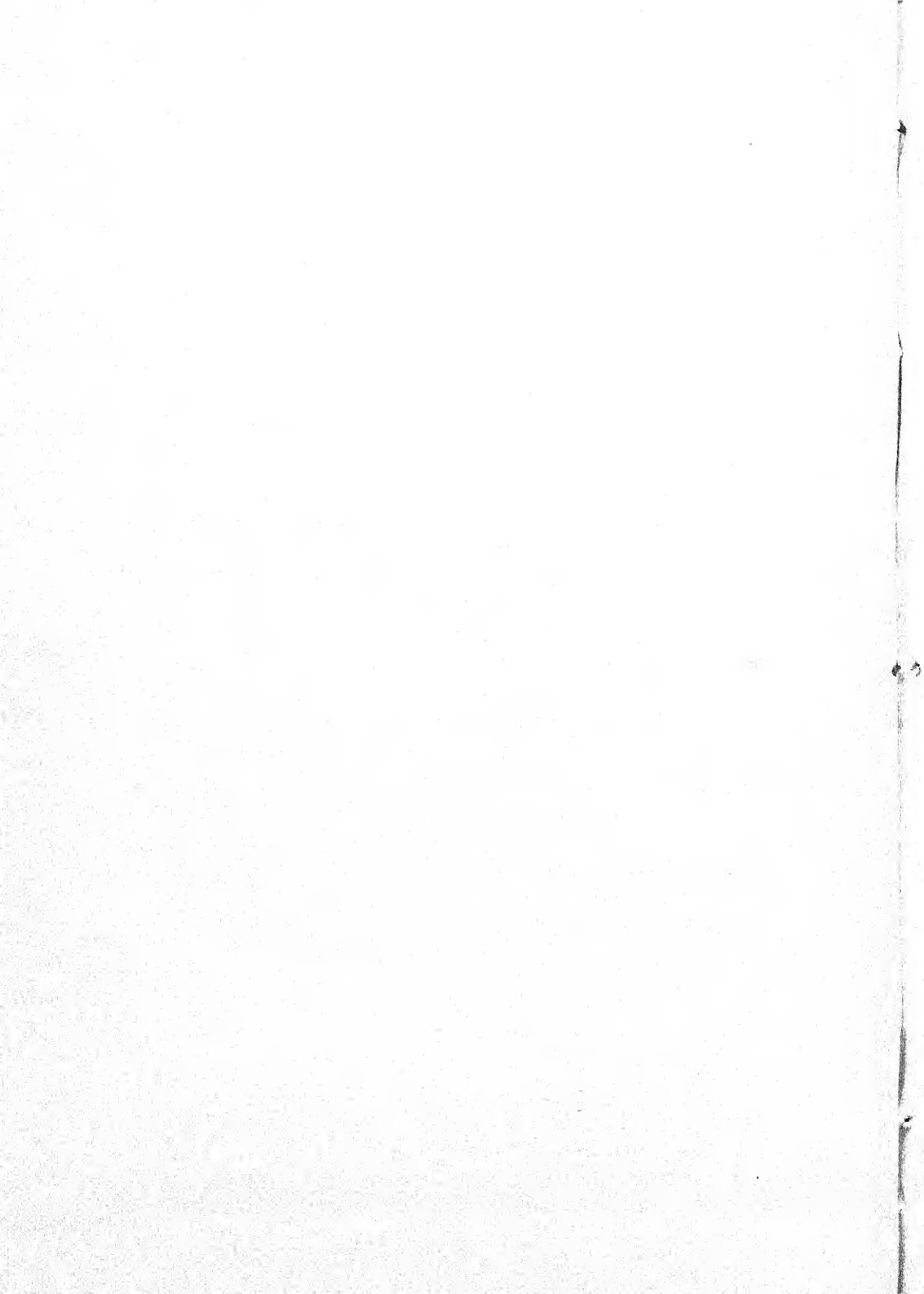
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# JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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1927

[PART II.

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## LEADING ARTICLE

### I.—Archæological Research at Patna\*

By V. H. Jackson, M.A., I.E.S.

Archæological research in the neighbourhood of Patna has been confined almost exclusively to sites at a considerable distance south of the present city or of that occupied in mediæval times. Kharaunia, Chhotipahar and Barapahar, which have been investigated to some extent, are about two miles south of the bank of the Ganges. Kumrahar, Bulandibagh and Lohanipur are all close to the railway line, but still not less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles from the river. Within the present city itself there seems to be no record of any deep excavation except that of the Mangles Tank just fifty years ago. Regarding this, which is fully half a mile from the Ganges, a former Principal of Patna College, Mr. J. W. McCrindle, has recorded that a line of wooden palisades was discovered, running from north-west to south-east. In the more closely-settled areas of Bankipore, Gulzarbagh and Patna City practically nothing is known about the levels beneath the present surface of the ground. Buchanan mentions that "everywhere in digging, broken pots, but very little else, are to be found ;

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\* Lecture delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Society on the 22nd March 1927.

and where the river washes away the bank, many old wells are laid open, but nothing has been discovered to indicate large or magnificent buildings." In areas such as these, attempts to carry out systematic exploration have doubtless been prevented by considerations of the cost of acquiring land as well as other difficulties, but until something of the kind is undertaken there is nothing to justify the opinion which is commonly held, that ancient Pataliputra itself has been washed away by encroachments of the river.

Amongst the important developments, however, which are now taking place in the neighbourhood of Patna College in connection with the University scheme, a modern sewage system is being installed, in connection with which a network of trenches for sewers and one or two fair-sized tanks are being dug to depths extending in places as far down as twenty-four or twenty-five feet below the surface. Though this work is naturally being carried out by the contractors in a manner which would not be approved by scientific archaeologists, it can nevertheless be regarded as a preliminary exploration of the site, and as a means of learning something more about the oldest of the capitals which, in fulfilment of the remarkable prophecy attributed to the Buddha himself, great men have been impelled to establish in this neighbourhood.

Two tube wells have also been bored recently on this site for the future water-supply and have been carried down to depths of 325 and 275 feet. An examination of the material brought up during these borings has thrown light on the nature of the underground strata corresponding to periods much earlier than those of which there is any historical record.

In order to take advantage of such a unique opportunity, a close watch has been kept on the work so far as it has yet proceeded. Besides opening up several promising lines for further study, some definite results have already been obtained, which it is possible to mention now.

It is generally assumed that the average rate at which soil forms over old sites, due to the deposition of dust, silt, etc is something like one foot a century. Estimates even higher

than this have been made as regards Patna itself, and it seems natural to assume that close to the Ganges, where the ground is higher than elsewhere, the process has been more rapid owing to various physiographical actions familiar to all who have lived on its bank. The present excavations, however, have proved that the natural yellow clay which forms the upper portion of the thick bed of Ganges alluvium in this neighbourhood, is much closer to the surface than seemed probable. The uppermost limit of this stratum, which shows no signs of human settlement except in places where there have evidently been previous diggings for wells or cesspools and even tanks, is not more than fourteen or fifteen feet below the surface. It is separated from the earth above it by a layer of fine white dust or silt about a foot thick, down to which the rootlets of trees, as well as colonies of white ants, have been found to extend. The upper limit of the alluvial clay at Patna near the Ganges is between 154 and 155 feet above the level of the sea.

An interesting conclusion which follows from this is, that in ancient times the site of the important buildings, pillars, etc. at Kumrahar and Bulandibagh was considerably lower than the land near the river, just as it is now. Bulandibagh, or the "raised garden" as the name implies, stands well above the cultivated fields which surround it, but its surface is now only 164 feet above sea level, or about five feet lower than the University site. The excavations which are now being carried out at Bulandibagh by Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh show that virgin soil is not reached until at least seventeen feet below the surface, showing that it is certainly not less than seven or eight feet lower than it is near the Ganges. It is impossible to say why the builders of ancient Pataliputra selected for important buildings a site so relatively low as Kumrahar and its neighbourhood, but it is certain that their choice was an unfortunate one, for as the sections of the excavation clearly show, this area has at a later date suffered very severely from floods, apparently from the river Sone.

It is possible that the level of virgin soil near Kumrahar is even lower than stated above, for Spooner in places found foundations at greater depth and the upper surface of the remarkable line of horizontal and massive sal timbers which is now being exposed is about twenty-five or twenty-six feet below the surface. But from the general appearance it seems probable that these timbers were laid in trenches dug for the purpose into virgin soil, and that at Kumrahar as at Patna College the ordinary thickness of the stratum of earth which shows signs of human settlement is not more than from fourteen to seventeen feet. Even supposing that the whole of this stratum has accumulated since Mauryan times which is a most unlikely assumption, the average rate of soil-formation must be reduced to not much more than six inches in a century. This has an important bearing on any future excavations at Patna, for if the work now going on in the closely settled area near the river reveals anything of sufficient importance to justify scientific investigation by archaeologists, it will not be necessary to estimate for such deep digging as has been supposed.

So far at any rate it cannot be said that any such discoveries have been made. The only signs of a settlement layer hitherto observed occur at a depth of between seven and nine feet, but even these indications are not very definite. Almost everywhere, as Buchanan observed, the earth contains many fragments of brick and pottery, but the terracotta figures and other finds which point to Kushana, Sunga or Mauryan age occur for the most part below the settlement level. The specimens exhibited at the meeting have been arranged side by side with typical finds obtained by Dr. Spooner or Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh at Kumrahar and Bulandibagh, which have been kindly lent by the authorities of the Provincial Museum in order to show the striking resemblance in many respects. But it must be observed that in addition to the absence of any important buildings, the Patna College site has yielded no

ancient coins<sup>1</sup> and no inscribed fragments with the exception of a single clay seal. In fact, it seems probable that the land in this locality was only on the outskirts of the ancient city, and that Pataliputra itself was farther to the east or south-east, with its centre somewhere in the neighbourhood of Gulzarbagh.

During the excavation of the deep septic tank, two small cylinders of white stone, with a slightly convex and highly polished ends, were found at a depth of between twelve and fourteen feet. Almost simultaneously an exactly similar though smaller specimen was unearthed at Bulandibagh twelve feet below the surface. The hardness and density of the mineral in these cylinders correspond to quartz, but from its translucency and somewhat waxy lustre it may be chalcedony,<sup>2</sup> and thus resemble the still smaller hexagonal specimen found at Basarh and described by Bloch and Vredenburg in *A.S.R.*, 1903-04, page 100. One perfect and one broken specimen of the same smaller type, but of less fine appearance, were also found in a trench in the grounds of the Bihar College of Engineering about one-fourth mile away.

Mr. R. D. Banerjee has suggested that these were used by jewellers for weights, and if this be correct it is interesting to notice that quartz was used in ancient times for this purpose, just as it is now with delicate laboratory balances. On this theory and allowing for a slight loss of weight owing to chipping, it would appear as if the ancient unit of such weights was something between 1.33 and 1.35 grams, and that the four complete specimens contained seven, eight, thirty-six and forty of these units, respectively.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A rectangular punch-marked coin has since been found, but in too bad a state for restoration.

<sup>2</sup> The Geological authorities at Calcutta pronounced it to be a vein of quartz.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Banerji-Sastri informs me that the Dharana or ancient unit of weight is supposed to have been 42 grains or 2.73 drams, approximately double the above. Two others of this type have since been found, one of an ornamental yellow and red stone but unfortunately broken, and the other deep red. The latter resembles eight specimens already in the Patna Museum, from Bodh Gaya, Basarh, etc. All these appear to be also quartzitic in type, their density varying from 2.62 to 2.7, and a study of these may throw more light on the value of the dharana.

The only clay seal so far discovered was found close to the river and not more than six feet from the surface in a trench leading to Koila Ghat. This shows the figure of a seated lion, facing left, with an inscription below in Gupta-Brahmi characters read by Dr. Banerji-Sastri as KARNAMITRA (SYA). Several similar but considerably smaller seals of this type were found by Spooner at Kumrahar, which resemble two found by him at Basarh (*A.S.R.*, 1913-14) when he pointed out the resemblance of the lion to that on the Mauryan column at Bakhra. Marshall (*A.S.R.*, 1911-12) also describes three similar lion seals found at Bhita in the Kushana, Early and Late Gupta levels, i.e. circa first to fifth centuries A.C.

With the possible exception of a single fragment, a small shaven head, it is noteworthy that every one of the terracotta human figurines or fragments which have come to light represent the form of a woman. There are several of very different sizes which represent a naked woman in a sitting posture, in one case holding a baby in her arms. This specimen is exactly similar to one recently found at Buxar, and the head in both cases is of a curiously primitive type. One of the terracotta plaques is particularly interesting because it is identical with a specimen found by Spooner at Kumrahar, and because only three days later the Bulandibagh excavation yielded the upper half of another. The resemblance is so complete that all three have probably been produced by the same mould, and it seems as if this figure must be a representation of the Mother Goddess or similar female-worship cult widely diffused at Patna.

The terracotta figures of animals discovered are numerous. Some have evidently been mounted on disks serving as wheels and have been used as toys. The markings are similar to those on a small figure of a horse found at Old Rajagriha. Perhaps the best of these is the figure of a horse with a bridle, as the head and neck are particularly well modelled, but the rest of the body is much too small and of very crude workmanship. Several perfect specimens of seated monkeys have been found,



which are similar to fragments unearthed at Bulandibagh, etc. Amongst others may be mentioned three geese, evidently intended to float on water, a lizard, an elephant with traces of figures of two men riding on its back, a leopard, and a ram's head just like those found at Buxar, Basarh, etc. The most interesting, however, is a small and very curious figure with two small projections or feet to enable it to stand upright. Its head is that of a snake, but the body though flat appears from the markings and shape to represent a woman. This figure being entire solves the puzzle regarding the nature of several though larger fragments, both of the head and of the hourglass shaped body, which have been found at Basarh, Buxar, etc. and the theory may be advanced that it was intended to represent a Nāgini.

The beads of cornelian, etc. are similar to those found at Bulandibagh and elsewhere in ancient sites.

Patna is so far from the nearest hills that it seems certain that any stones found at this neighbourhood must have been brought there by human agency. During the excavations a fair number of small stones has been found, which from their shape, polish or other features strongly suggested an artificial origin. They can be classified in four main groups—(1) stones rectangular in cross-section, with either two or four flat and unpolished faces, which might be taken for whetstones but according to Mr. R. D. Banerjee were probably used as net-sinkers; (2) wedge-shaped stones, highly polished, with a sharp chisel-edge, perhaps spearheads; (3) pyramidal stones, highly polished, with three faces meeting in a point, some of which look like arrowheads; and (4) thin and more or less flat disks of irregular shape, also highly polished.

So far as is known, no neolithic weapons have been found in the district of Patna, even in the Rajgir Hills. Some typical specimens of groups (2) and (3) were therefore submitted to Dr. E. H. Pascoe, Director of the Geological Survey of India, for expert opinion. Dr. Pascoe has kindly shown them to other officers and writes as follows: "Dr. Christie is inclined to

think that the large brown stone with the square cross-section, one end flat and the other rounded, may have been fashioned artificially. He remarks 'The scratches on one of the rounded edges look like traces of the treatment for rounding off this edge, and seem too closely parallel to each other to be of natural origin.' \* \* \* \* The rest of us think that none of the stones could be definitely regarded as of artificial origin. The scratches on the edges of the specimen noticed are more likely the effect of lamination planes."

As regards the specimens of group (2) Dr. Pascoe says "they are all typically wind-polished, and the wedge shape is probably the result of oblique jointing or cleavage. Their noticeable smoothness is due to the action of wind." As regards group (3) he says "the other three specimens, pyramidal or sub-pyramidal in shape, are all very interesting to us in that they appear to be typical 'dreikanter.' A dreikanter, as the name implies, is a stone with three edges separating three well-marked faces ending in a point. The stone rests upon one of these faces, while the other two are formed and polished by sand driven against their surface by wind action. Should the stone become turned over, the basal surface is exposed and polished in a similar way, while one of the original upper faces forms the basal face and is protected. The end of the stone remote from the prevailing wind direction is generally rounded or irregular. Of the three stones you sent, one has reached an advanced stage, and is a beautiful specimen of a dreikanter. Dr. Fermer first called my attention to this fact. One of the faces is considerably rougher than the other two and is evidently the basal face on which the stone rested. The point is quite sharp, while the other end of the stone is typically rounded. \* \* \* \* All are beautifully polished."

While the theory of any neolithic origin of these stones is thus not confirmed their forms are sufficiently curious to justify their preservation in the collection. As the tube-well boring on this site have been carried out by a system of water-flush,

any sharp distinctions between different strata passed through by the drill must be to a certain extent obliterated, but by the courtesy of Mr. Hasan Imam the results obtained can be compared with those of two eight and-a-half inch dry borings at Bankipore carried down to 340 and 200 feet at Hasan Manzil and Fraser Road respectively. In all main features there is remarkably close agreement between the two sets of borings. They show that the thickness of the bed of alluvial clay immediately below recent earth-formation is about 180 feet, thus extending to a depth about forty-five feet below the present level of the sea. The quantity of kankar mixed with the clay increases at the lower depths, and the stratum is interrupted by two beds of sand, each about ten feet thick, about 100 and 150 feet below the surface. The clay rests on another bed of sand quite sixty feet thick, fine above but gradually getting coarser lower down. At a depth of 250 feet the first signs of gravel or pebbles occur, and thence down to the end of the borings layers of gravel and sand alternate.

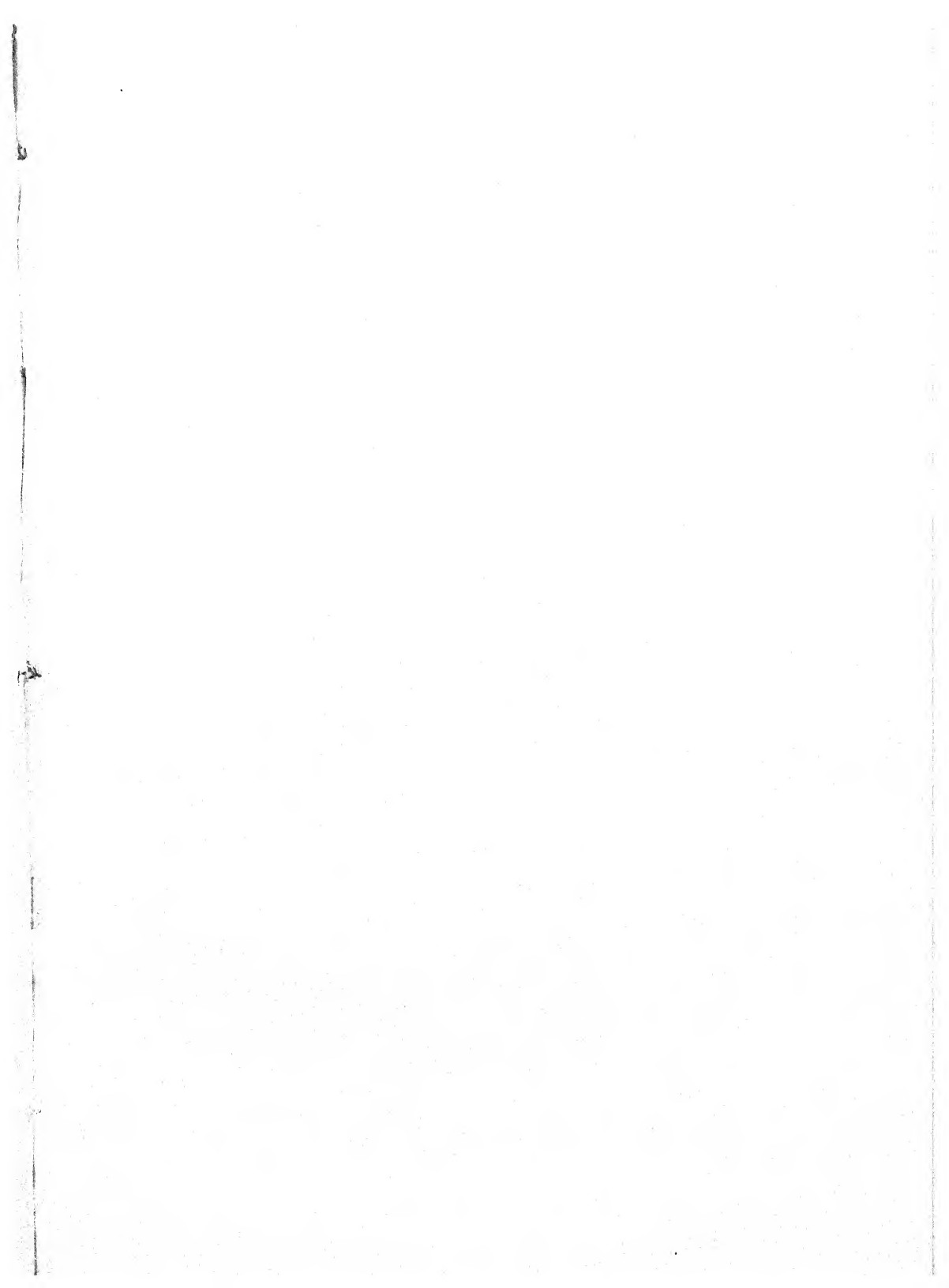
The great thickness and comparative uniformity of the bed of clay at Patna seem to indicate that the chances of discovery of any proto-historic settlement in this neighbourhood are remote.<sup>1</sup> No indications of animal life were noticed in the Patna College borings, but at Fraser Road the drill brought up from the first layer of gravel, between 240 and 260 feet below the surface, three small bones. These have been kindly examined by Dr. Pilgrim of the Geological Survey, who states that one conveys nothing except that it is a vertebrate bone fragment. The second is a vertebra of a crocodile and the third is the left naviculo-cuboid bone (i.e. one of the left hoof) of an ox. It is just barely possible though not likely in Dr. Pilgrim's opinion that a careful study of the last-named specimen might give some indication of specific value.

It seems that even at this depth the strata met with correspond to a fresh-water period of comparatively quite recent

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<sup>1</sup> I understand that Dr. Banerji-Sastri has recently discovered remains of this nature at Buxar, twenty-two feet below the Mauryan level.

geological antiquity and there is no sign of any salt water influence to support the theory that the Ganges valley once formed an arm of the sea between the Vindhya and Central Asia. This could hardly be expected, for at Lucknow a boring carried to a depth of nearly 1,000 feet showed no sign of an approach to the bottom of the alluvial formation, while even at Calcutta a boring "reached a depth of 481 feet without signs of either a rocky bottom or marine beds, while fragments of fresh-water shells were found as low as 380 feet below the surface."



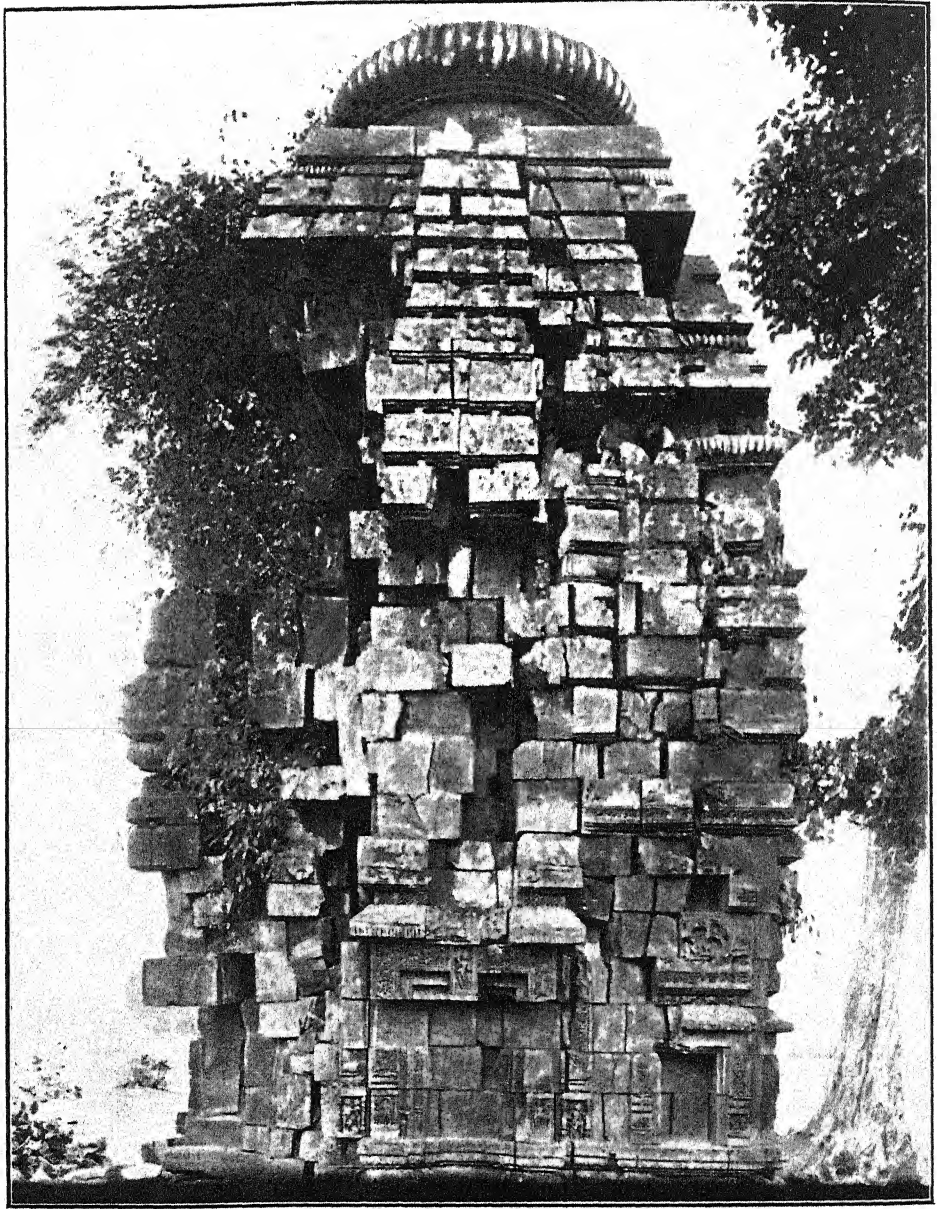


PLATE I. KUTAI TUNDI, KHICHING. MAYURBHANJ.

J.B.O.R.S., 1927.



## II.—Note on the Ancient Monuments of Mayurbhanj

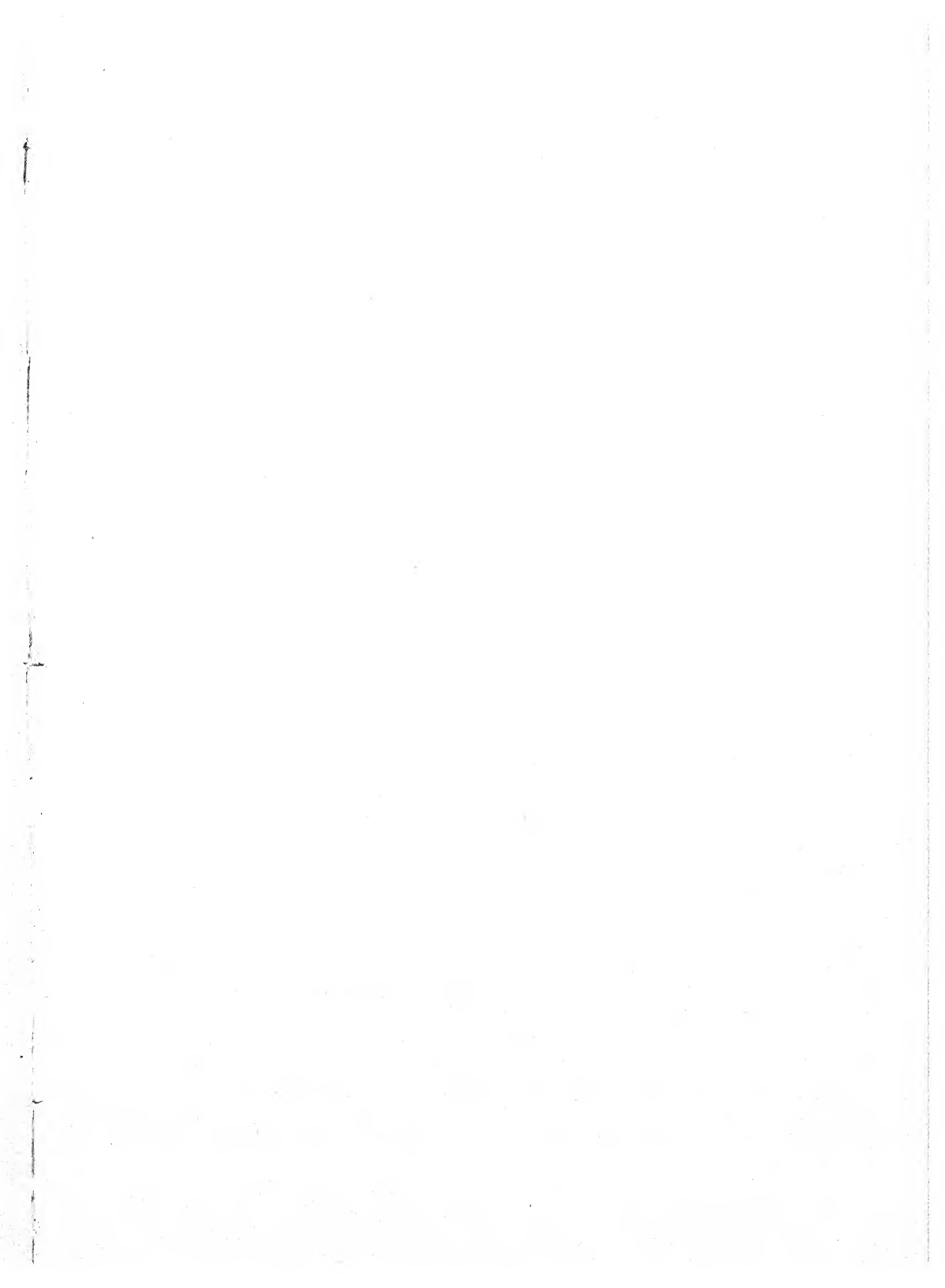
By Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., F.A.S.B.

The ancient monuments of Mayurbhanj are practically centred in one single locality, Khiching, now a small village near the western frontier of the state. The name Khiching is a corruption (*apabhraṃśa*) of Khijjīṅga or Khijjīṅga-Koṭṭa, the capital of the early Bhāṅja chiefs according to their copper-plate grants, and the existing monuments support the identification. The ruins of the ancient city extend far beyond the limits of the modern village from the bank of the Khairbhandan on the north to that of the Kanṭakhair on the south. These two hill streams meet below the site and their combined stream discharges its waters into the Baitarini three miles below. About five miles to the north of Khiching lies Kolhan in the Singhbhum district and to the right of the Baitarini stretches the Keonjhar State. From the geographical position it appears that Khiching was at one time the capital of a principality comprising the western half of the Mayurbhanj State, Keonjhar and Kolhan.

As a visitor approaches Khiching from the east the first monument that arrests his attention is a small stone temple popularly known as Kuṭai Tundi and the phallic emblem of Śiva installed in it is called Sarveśvara (Plate 1). It is a temple of the style of architecture named Nagara in the Sanskrit manuals and Indo-Aryan by Fergusson. The distinguishing feature of the Indo-Aryan temple is its śikhara or the curvilinear spire on the perpendicular *garbhagriha* or cella.

The plinth of the Kuṭai Tunḍi is now buried in the small mound that has formed around it. A very large proportion of the carved stones forming the façades of the outer walls of the cella and the śikhara have fallen down and the south-eastern corner of the śikhara has already collapsed. Still it is possible to form an idea of the beautiful outline of the śikhara when the temple was complete. The fine proportion of the perpendicular lower part to the śikhara is recognisable. Though the decorative sculptures are not of high order of merit and the decoration was not elaborate, the grace of proportion and line must have rendered it a very lovely little shrine. One peculiar feature of the Kuṭai Tunḍi, as of other old temples of Khiching that are no longer in existence, is the absence of the *mukhamandapa* or porch. A porch is mainly intended for the convenience of the worshippers. A richly ornamented temple without porch appears a more pious structure than one with a porch; for in the former the lamp of sacrifice burns with greater brilliance.

About 400 yards to the west of the Kuṭai Tunḍi is situated the *Thākuraṇī sālā* or the compound of the Goddess which contains the ruins of the principal group of ancient temples at Khiching. The Thākuraṇī or the Goddess is represented by an image of Chāmunda, known as Kiñchakeśvarī, and is still recognised as the patron goddess of the ruling house of Mayurbhanj. There is a shrine of Kiñchakeśvarī within the palace of Baripada and another at Bahalda. In the *sanads* or land-grants issued by the Maharajas of Mayurbhanj in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the goddess who is invariably invoked in the preamble along with Jagannātha is named Khijīngeśvarī or the Lady of Khijing or Khiching, and Kiñchakeśvarī is only a corrupt form of that name. Short accounts of the monuments in the Thākuraṇī's compound and of excavations carried therein have already been included in Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1922-23 (pages 124-128), 1923-24 (pages 85-87) and 1924-25. These excavations have disclosed the remains of a group of old temples



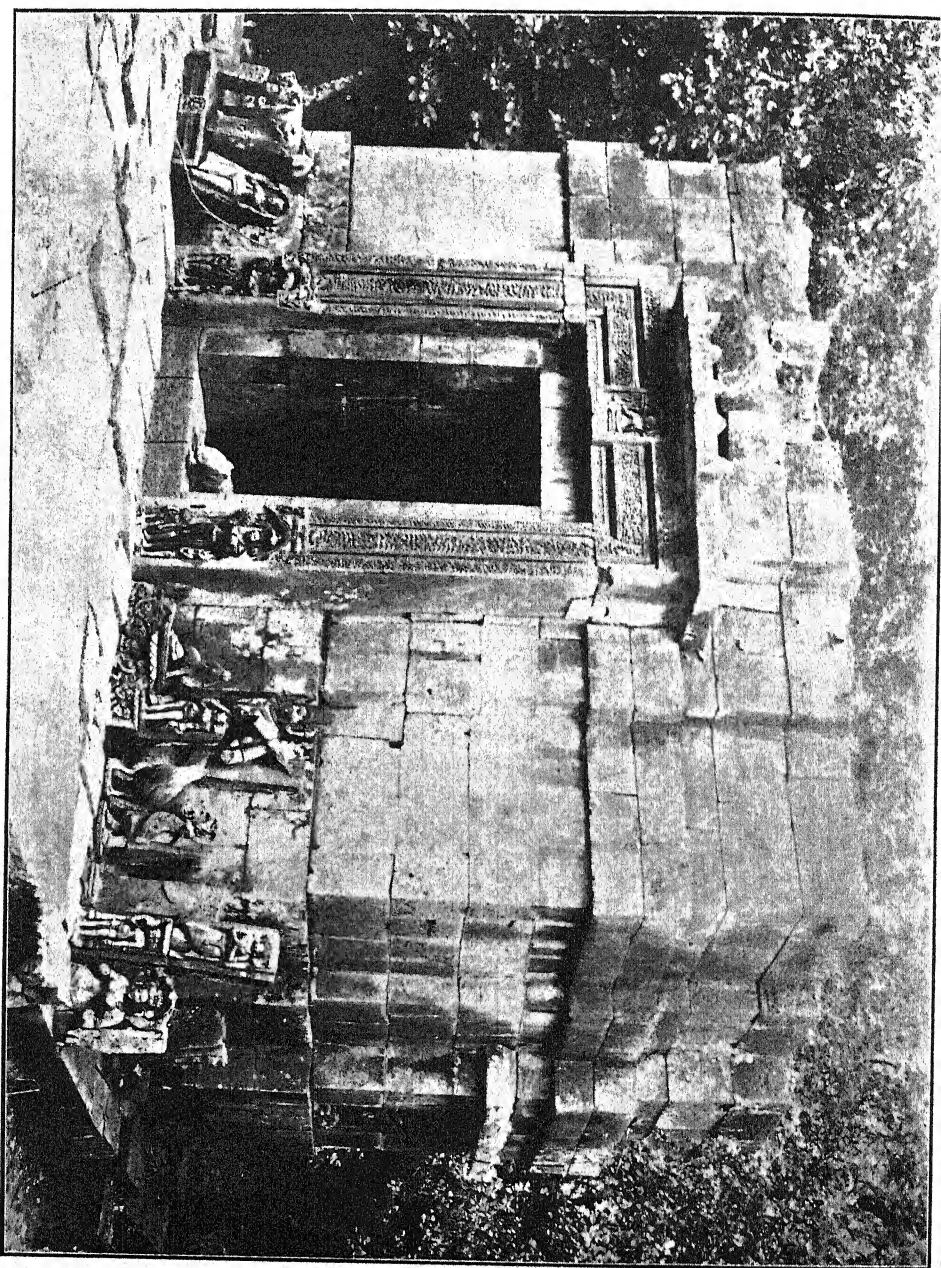


PLATE 2. KHANDIYA DEVI, KICHING.

J.B.O.S., 1927.

of which two were very elaborately ornamented. The bigger one of these two temples that occupied the central position in the group had a base 35 feet square and may be designated the *baḍa deul* or the great temple of Khiching. When I visited Khiching in 1922, the site of this great temple was represented by a mound on which stood the small brick shrine of Khijīgeśvari (Kiñchakeśvari) and the Khaṇḍiyā Deul. The Khaṇḍiyā Deul, as its name indicates, was an unfinished temple of which the cella only was built and the *śikhara* was never added. Behind the Khaṇḍiyā Deul there was impenetrable jungle and on other sides against the walls were placed some very beautiful fragmentary sculptures. The magnificent carved door frame fixed in the Khaṇḍiyā Deul undoubtedly belonged to the great temple that once stood on the site (Plate 2). The images of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā at the lower part of the door jambs are very nicely modelled. The worshipper, passing through the doorway bearing these images evidently reaped the benefit of purification by bathing in the waters of the two holy rivers before worship. In the working season of 1923-24 we undertook the excavation of the mound and finished the work in 1925. These excavations yielded a large number of carved architectural pieces and more or less mutilated sculptures that once decorated the great temple. The pieces so far recovered do not amount to much more than half the materials. As none of these pieces bear any inscription, we have no direct evidence relating to the time when and the people by whom this temple was built. But there is no dearth of indirect evidence. From a mound outside the Thākuraṇī's compound has been recovered the lower half of an inscribed image of the Bodhisatva Avalokiteśvara. The inscription on the base of this image reads :—

ॐ राज्ञः श्रीरायमञ्जस्य लोकेशो भगवानयम् ।

श्रीधरनीरवाहेन सहकीर्त्तया विनिर्मितः ॥

"This (image) of the Lord Lokeśa has been made by Sri-Dharaṇīvarāha assisted by Kīrtti for Raja Śrī-Rayabhaṇja."

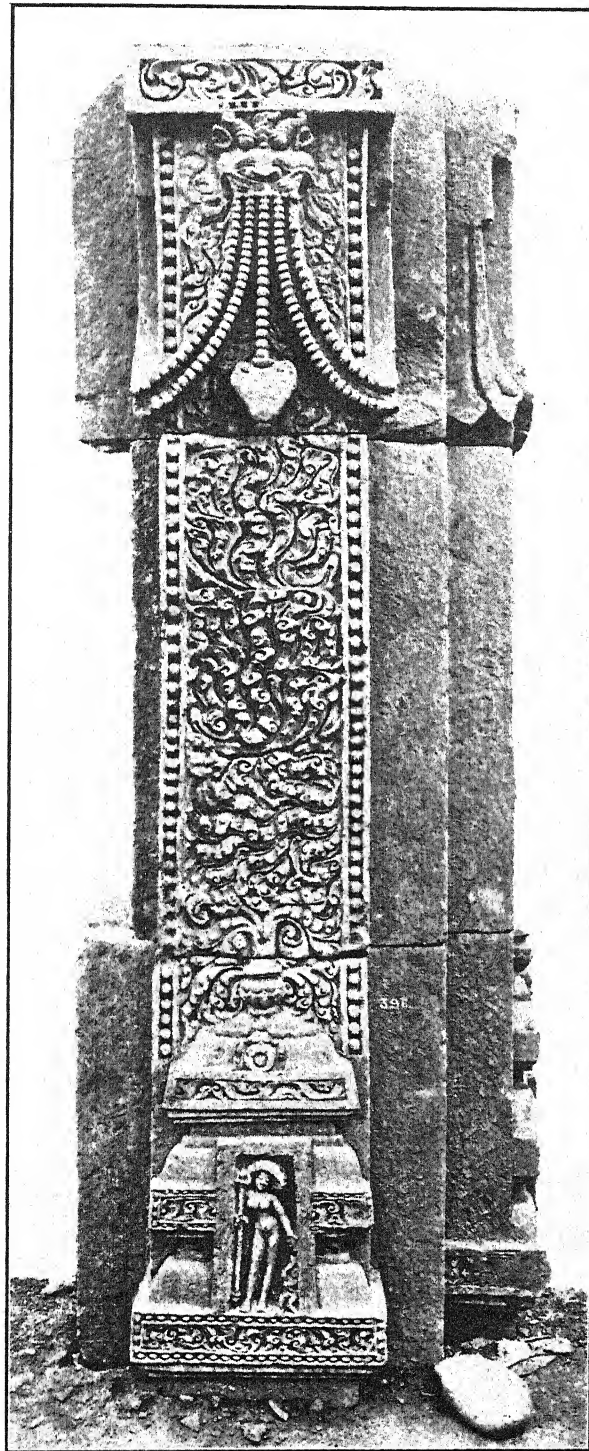
This image agrees in style and technique with images belonging to the great temple and so it may be recognised as a work of the same epoch. The form of the Nagari letters indicates that this record and therefore this image should be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. A Raja Rājabhāṇja of Khijjīṅga or Khiching we know from a copper-plate grant found in the Bamanghati subdivision of the Mayurbhanj State and published 55 years ago.<sup>1</sup> Two other copper-plate grants of Rājabhāṇja's father Raṇabhāṇja have also been published.<sup>2</sup> From these records we obtain this account of the Bhāṇja chiefs of Khiching. Ādibhāṇja Virabhadra was miraculously born of the egg of a peahen and brought up by Rishi Vasishṭha, the priest of the solar Ikshāku line of the Kshatriyas. In the line of Ādibhāṇja was born Koṭṭabhāṇja, "fire to the forest of his foes." Koṭṭabhāṇja was succeeded by his son Digbhāṇja whose feet were worshipped by hundreds of vassal chiefs. Digbhāṇja's son was Raṇabhāṇja who lived at Khijjīṅgakotṭa (Khiching). Raṇabhāṇja's son and successor was Rājabhāṇja. It seems to me that it was Digbhāṇja who first settled at Khiching and he or his successor Raṇabhāṇja built the great temple. The letters of the copper-plate grants referred to above closely resemble the letters of the inscription on the image of Avalokiteśvara and therefore the identification of Raja Rājabhāṇja of this inscription with Raja Rājabhāṇja of the copper-plate grant is unavoidable. The early Bhāṇja chiefs of Khiching as well as the artists they employed for building and decorating their temples were not of local origin, for no trace of any monument of an earlier age marking an earlier stage of development of the art has been discovered at Khiching or its neighbourhood. Wherefrom, then, came the Bhāṇjas and the artists they employed? By stylistic analysis it is possible to suggest a provisional answer to this question.

Plate 3 represents a side piece of one of the three main niches on three sides of the perpendicular part of the great temple, and

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XL., 1871, Pt. I, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165; J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV, 1918, pp. 172-177.





J.B.O.R.S., 1927.

PLATE 3. SIDE PIECE OF A MAIN NICHE OF  
THE GREAT TEMPLE KHICHING.



PLATE 10. NĀGINĪ. GREAT TEMPLE, KHICHING.

J.B.O.R.S., 1927.





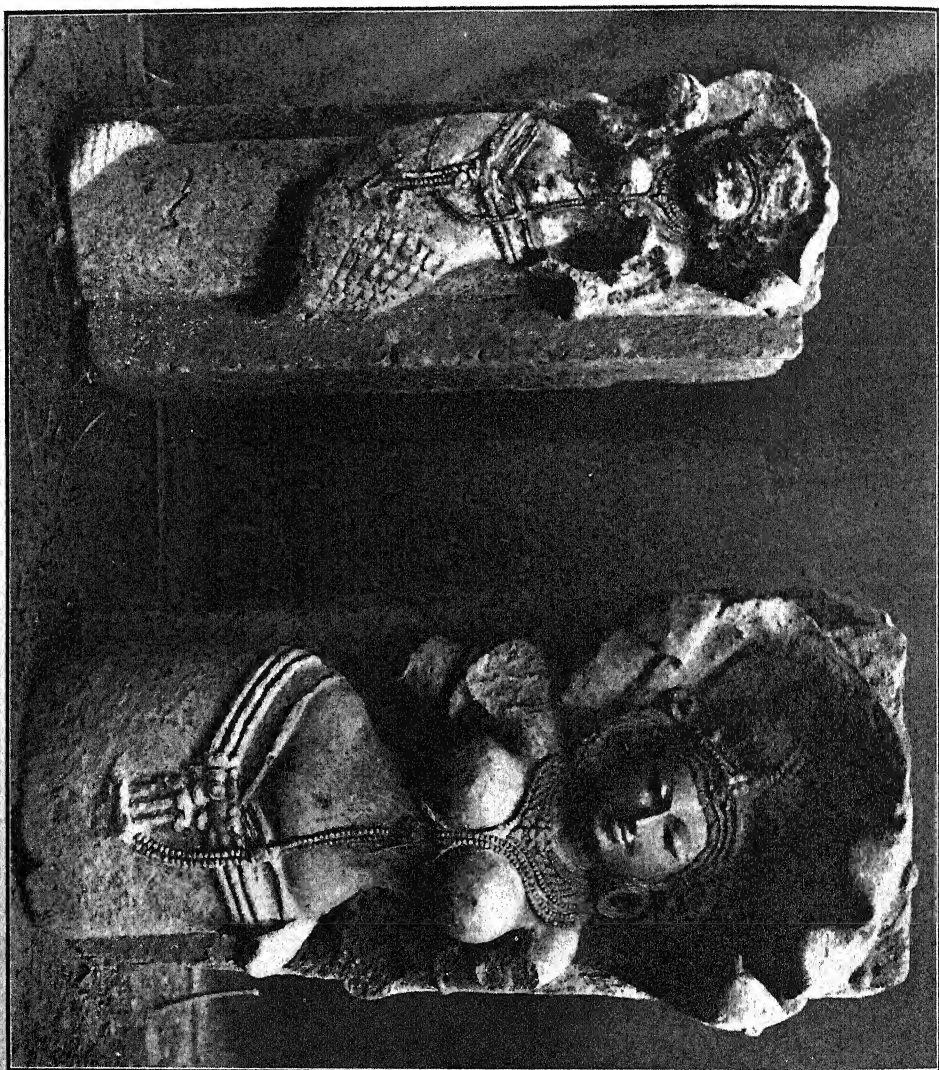






PLATE 8. MAHISAMARDINĪ. KHICHING.

J.B.O.R.S., 1927.



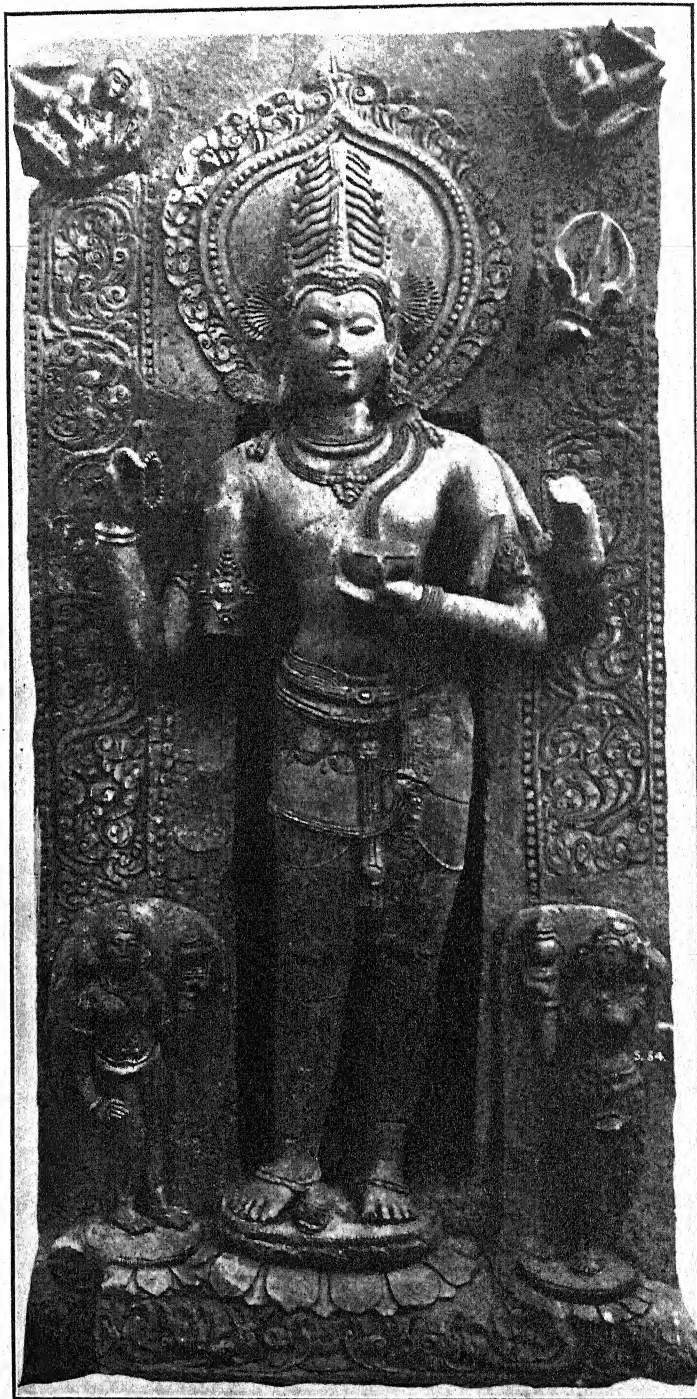




J.B.O.R.S., 1927.

PLATE 7. KĀRTIKEYA. LINGARĀJ. BHUVANESVAR.



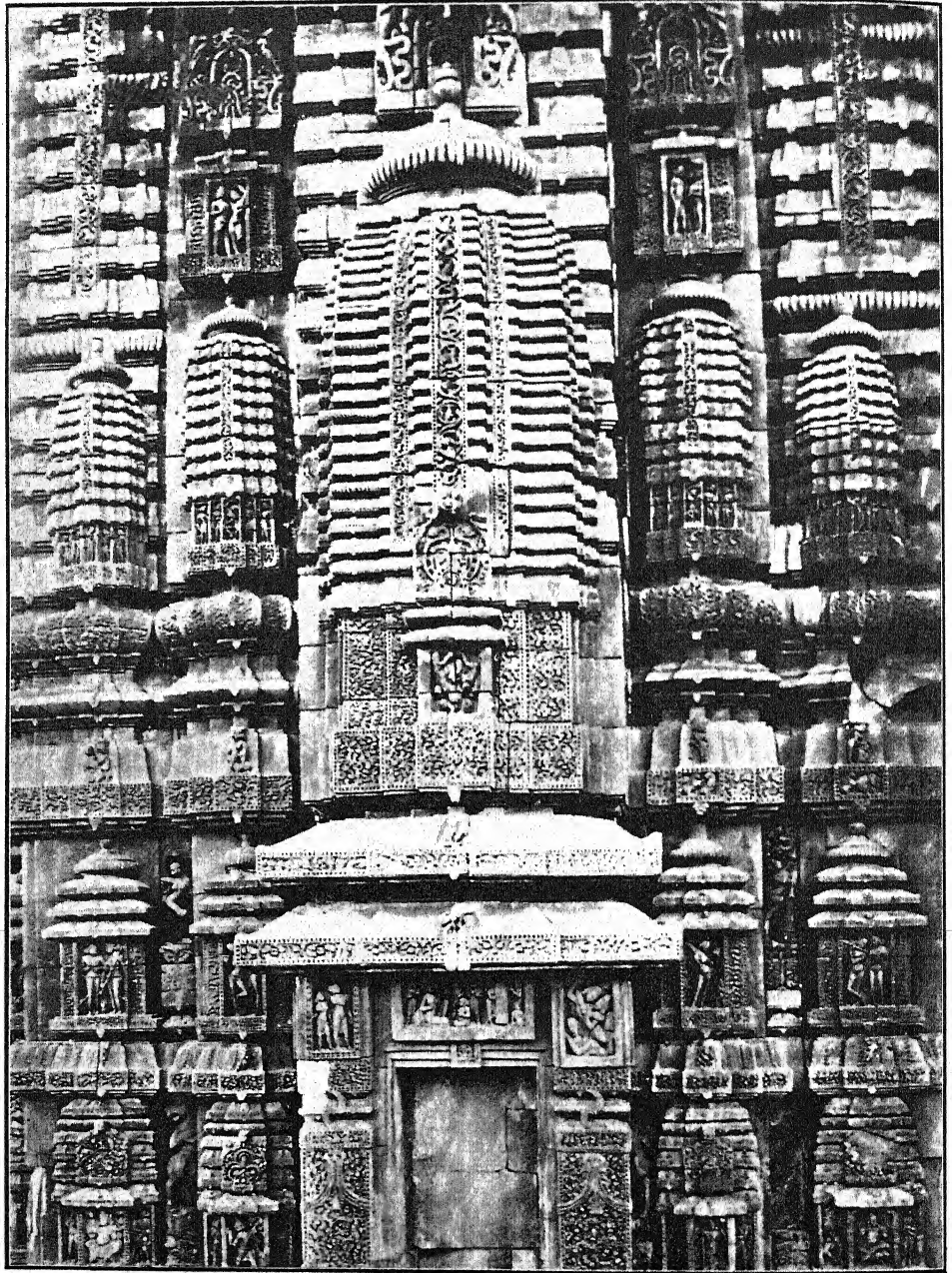


J.B.O.R.S., 1927.

PLATE 6. ŚIVA. GREAT TEMPLE, KHICHING.





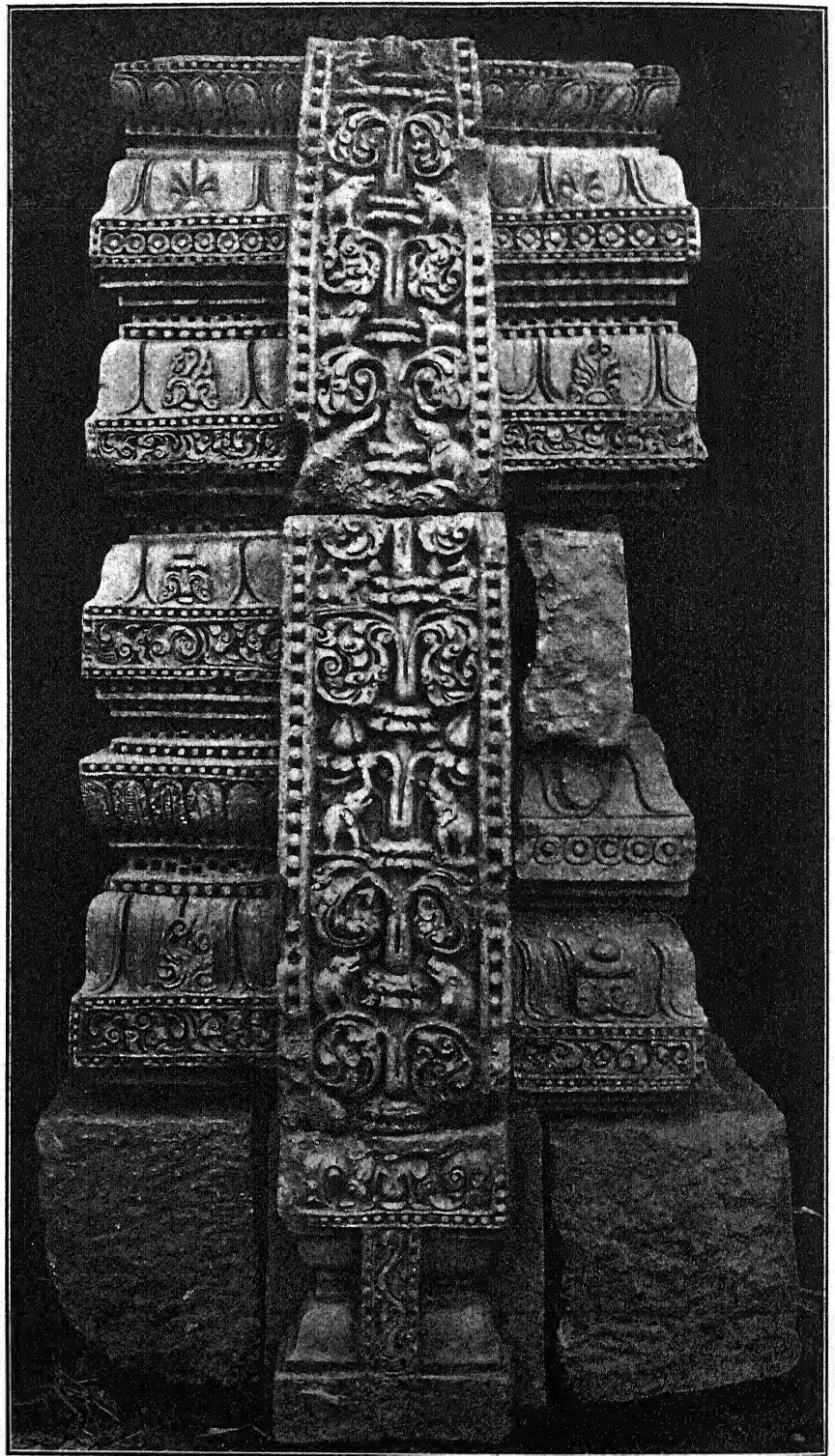


J.B.O.R.S., 1927.

PLATE 5. BRAHMESVARA. BHUVANESVAR.







J.B.O.R.S., 1927.

PLATE 4. CARVED STONES DECORATING THE ŚIKHARA OF THE GREAT  
TEMPLE OF KHICHING.

Plate 4 shows the carved stones that decorated the middle portion of each façade of the sikhara. As the photograph of a part of the temple of Brahmesvara at Bhuvanesvara reproduced on Plate 5 indicates, the style of decoration and particularly the scroll work with animal figures is Orissan and is evidently the work of Oriya artists. But the figure sculptures reveal a different artistic strain. In Plate 6 is reproduced a life size image of Śiva that was once set up in one of the main niches of the great temple of Khiching. The face of this image is lit up by a subtle smile and the expression is naturalistic. The upper part of the figure is well modelled, but the lower part is heavy and less carefully finished. Compare this image with the colossal image of Kārttikeya in one of the main niches of the temple of Lingaraj at Bhuvanesvar in Orissa (Plate 7) and note the difference. This Kārttikeya is a masterpiece of Orissan sculpture. One notable point of difference between the two is the contour of the face. The face of the image of Kārttikeya and of most other images installed in the temples of Bhuvanesvar or fixed in their niches is of the same type, round and broad. But unlike the works of the contemporary sculptors of Orissa, the images of Khiching have more regular features. Among other specimens at Khiching I reproduce the magnificent torso of Durga Mahishamardini (Plate 8) engaged in killing the demon more out of pity as reflected in her face than in a spirit of revenge, and Nāgīs that capped the row of pilasters decorating the outer side of the sanctum of the great temple (Plate 9 and 10). Regular features are a characteristic of the products of the school of sculpture that flourished in Bengal and Bihar contemporaneously. But here also the difference is no less remarkable. In the standing images of the period found in Bengal and Bihar the pose of the lower half of the body is straight and stiff, and the back slab is decorated in quite different ways. These considerations lead to the conclusion that while the artists employed by the Bhañja chief for decorating the great temple of Khiching were imported from Orissa, for designing figure sculptures he must have employed an artist of genius probably brought up in

the Gaudian (Bengal-Bihar) school who, as a consequence of his contact with the Oriya artists and aided by fresh inspiration from nature, founded a new school of art at Khiching. The chief who employed this master must have come from some other centre of culture than Orissa, for had he been a Oriya in origin he would probably have employed Oriya artists only and we should have at Khiching mere replicas of the temples of Bhuvanesar than masterpieces of a new type.

### III.—The Golaki Matha

By Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, B.A.

In one of my Nagpur University Extension lectures on the Kalachuri Kings of Tripuri I happened to mention in connection with Yuvarājadeva that "he gave three lakhs of villages to Golakī Maṭha." This information comes from an inscription in Malkāpuram in the Madras Presidency.<sup>1</sup> It records the history of Śaiva teachers and of their influence on royal families of that period. In tracing out the origin it incidentally mentions the name of the Kalachuri king who endowed their maṭha or monastery with a gift of three lakhs of villages. It begins by saying that there was the country known as the Dāhalaṃḍala situated between the rivers Bhāgīrathī (i.e. Ganges) and Narmadā and in it was a line of Śaiva teachers whose founder was Durvāsā. In this line appeared Saddbhāva Śambhu who received from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva as a *bhikṣhā* or gift a province, in which there were three lakhs of villages. This teacher founded a monastery called Golakī Maṭha and transferred the province for the maintenance of the maṭha. From this it is clear that Saddbhāva Śambhu was a contemporary

- <sup>1</sup> अस्ति विश्वेश्वरा सारः कमलाकुल मन्दिरम् ।  
भागीरथो नर्मदयोर्मध्यं डहलमंडलं ॥  
उद्यं तत्र तपश्चन्द्रियभयन्वाह्यं द्वियक्रोडनं ।  
संद्राग्द्वयसमीधसमये चित्तेन लीनश्शिखरे ॥  
नीत्वा कालमनन्तमंतकजयो सद्भावशंभु  
गुरुर्द्वैवासान्वय संभवस्तुचरितः प्राहुर्द्वयै नृणां ॥  
शैवानां प्रथमाय शंकर पदध्यानामृतांभोनिधि  
क्रीडांग्रेडन कर्म निमीलतर स्वांताय शांतात्मने ॥  
तस्मै निस्पृहचेतसे ग(क) लक्षुरिक्ष्मापालचूडामणि  
ग्रामाणां युवराजदेवनृपतिः भिक्षां त्रिलक्षं ददौ ॥  
कृत्वा सचैव मुनिरदभुतशीलमूर्ति श्रीगोलकौसठ  
मुदारमदात्त चित्तः अस्याकरस्यनृपदेशिकवता  
त्तिकानां वृत्तिं चकार सकलामयि तां त्रिलक्षीं ॥



of Yuvarājadeva I of Dāhala, which is the well-known name of the country between the Ganges and Narmadā and which is mentioned even by the Arab geographer Alberuni who visited the country during the reign of Gāṅgeyadeva, the great-great-grandson of Yuvarājadeva I. Dāhala formed the western part of the Chedi kingdom. In this country there is no Śivite monastery which could claim to be such a grand institution as the Golakī Maṭha except the Chaunsāṭha Jōgini temple at Bheḍāghāṭ which is of a type suited for the Pāsupata sect to which the teachers and priests of the Golakī Maṭha belonged. The worship of the female energy is the prominent feature of this sect and the Bheḍāghāṭ maṭha enshrines female deities even exceeding 64, the traditional number. The maṭha is *gola* or circular and the name Golakī fits in very well, if it was given on account of the structure of the hypethral cloister occupied by the joginis. But the mention in some inscriptions of the alternative name Golagiri seems to indicate that the monastery took its name from the hill on which it was situated, which is a very natural thing to call after. The Chaunsāṭha Jogini maṭha is situated on a roundish hillock which was probably called Golagiri or the round hillock. When the maṭha was constructed on it, it superseded the name of the hillock and came to be named after the goddesses installed there. It must be remembered that the word Bheḍāghāṭ cannot be a name of a hill. It plainly refers to a *ghāṭ* or crossing of the Narmada river there. Therefore it does not come in the way of the name of the Golakī Maṭha. My view is that the original name was Golagiri Maṭha, which in course of time got corrupted into Golakī Maṭha. I should also state here that Mr. R. D. Banerji, a Superintendent of Archæology and competent palæographer, has recorded his opinion that "the script in which the names of the joginis have been carved on the pedestals belongs to the tenth century, the period to which Yuvarājadeva belonged. It is also in the fitness of things that a grand maṭha to which a third of a big province was gifted should be located in the vicinity of the donor's



capital, from which the temple is not more than three miles away. I am calculating this from the present situation of the village Tewar, but Tripuri in its heyday extended far and wide, and must certainly have included the Golagiri monastery within its limits. Yuvarājadeva was a very great builder. We have numerous remains of temples and buildings erected by him at several places, for instance, Gorgi, 11 miles from Rewah. Inscriptions have been found there which show that in the Gorgi religious institutions the same sect of Śivites presided as at the Golakī Maṭha. In fact, I am inclined to hold that the village derives its name from the monastery that was established there and that Gorgi is merely a corruption of Golakī. Golakī Maṭha attained such importance that the priests and teachers connected with it are spoken in numerous inscriptions of the Madras Presidency as belonging to the Golakī-vamśa or lineage and as Bhikshāmaṭha-santāna or Lakshādhyāyī-santāna, that is the descendants of students supported by the lakh gift, or a monastery endowed with Bhikṣhā gift. Elsewhere they are mentioned as belonging to the Bhikṣhā maṭha of the Golakī Maṭha santāna, which leaves no doubt as to the interpretation of these somewhat mixed up terms. Inscriptions referring to the Golakī Maṭha have been found in Cuddapah, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot districts in the Madras Presidency. The maṭha had its branches at Pushpagiri, Tripurāntakam, Tiruparaṅkoṇṇam and Devikāpuram. This fact, recorded in a region so remotely situated from the country of its origin, leads me to make an assertion that Gorgi was also a branch of the Golakī Maṭha, as also Chandrehe where an inscription has been found amongst the ruins of a temple and a monastery, recording their erection by a Śaiva ascetic Prabodha Śiva of the Mattamayūra clan, the same to which the priests of Nohalā's temples belonged. The record states that the buildings were constructed in the Kalachuri year 724-972 A.D. This is just the time when the Golakī Maṭha of Bheḍāghaṭ should have thrown out branches in places close to the Kalachuri capital. Perhaps it would not be too much to

surmise that the Chaunsāthā Jogini temple of Khajurāhā which is now depleted of its joginis also formed a branch of Golaki Māṭha, though the pride of the Chandellas who finally uprooted the Kalachuris has caused a tradition to grow up that the Bheḍāghaṭ māṭha was a later one to which the joginis of the Khajurāhā temple fled on being displeased with the treatment of the local people. I have rather dwelt too long on the Golaki Māṭha, but the matter is controversial and it occurred to me that I might emphasise the question in order to draw the attention of scholars willing to solve it."

Thus it was my intention to leave the question of identifying Golaki Māṭha to other scholars, but in April last the renowned antiquarian Mr. K. P. Jayaswal happened to visit the Chaunsāth Jogini temple. He thought the matter was more than that of local interest and asked me to move the question again especially in view of the fact that my remarks were delivered to mere students of colleges of a backward province and did not come prominently to the notice of antiquarian scholars, except Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who happened to be present at Nagpur when the lecture was delivered. He was interested in the point and took a copy of the lecture for publication in the Bhandarkar Institute Chronicles of Poona, where I am informed it is waiting for its turn to see the light. The Standard Dictionary defines a chronicle as "a register of facts and events in the order of time." So the Poona register will naturally register it in due order of time.

I must confess that my remarks quoted hereinbefore were made without having well studied the Gorgi inscription, which attracted my attention when I visited Gorgi just a few days before the delivery of the lecture. It was the grandness of the ruins at that place (a gorgeous gateway whereof adorns the palace of the Maharaja of Rewa) which made me waver between Gorgi and Bheḍāghaṭ in locating Golaki temple. On a reconsideration of the matter I now feel convinced that the monastery at Bheḍāghaṭ was really the original Golaki Māṭha, in spite of some difficult problems to be discussed presently.

The account given of the origin of the matha at Gorgi in the Gorgi inscription and another found at Chandrehe, a village on the Son river about 20 miles from Gorgi, precludes the possibility of Gorgi Matha being identical with the original Golaki Matha of universal fame. The Gorgi inscription records that Prabhāva Śiva<sup>1</sup> was brought from Madhumati by Yuvarājadeva, son of Mugdhatunga, and was made to accept a monastery, where he had built a temple, to the north of which the disciple of that abbot, viz. Prasāntasīva, later on built another temple of Śiva.<sup>2</sup>

This information combined with the inspection of the locality makes it clear that Yuvarājadeva's temple stood on a round artificial mound now known as Gurgaja. It was from there that the grand *torana* (gateway) was removed to the Rewah palace within living memory. These facts clearly show that Sādhava Śāmbhu had nothing to do with the buildings or appointments at Gorgi. Yuvarājadeva apparently imitated the model of his guru and lavished money on superior architectural structures. Apparently Sādhava Śāmbhu was actuated with a desire to spend more on institutions beneficial to the general public than on mere works of show. The Chaunsātha Jogini temple, so far as grandness of buildings is concerned, is certainly modest as compared with the ruins at Gorgi.

<sup>1</sup> शिव्यो बभूव भुवनत्रय कीर्त्तिनौयः श्रीमत्प्रभावशिवनाम  
मुनिर्म्मनौषो ॥ ६ ॥

आनीययं सहज वासनया नयन्नः श्रीसुग्धतुङ्ग तनयो युवराज  
देवः ।

सत्त्वोपकार भवदुत्तम कीर्त्ति हेतोरघाङ्गयन्मठमनन्त धन -

प्रतिष्ठम् ॥ ७ ॥

<sup>2</sup> येन श्री युवराज कारितलसत्कै लास शृङ्गोपम् प्रासादो  
सरतः सुमेरु शिखर स्पर्ध्वो । प्रसिद्धभुवि सद्मस्थापितभीश्वरस्य  
सकल त्रैलोक्यविरमापकम्, यत्स्वर्गम् ब्रजतस्तदीय यशसः  
सोपानं मार्गायते ॥ ११ ॥

Nevertheless similarity between the two recalled to mind the original and thus imposed the name of the older institution on the younger one. This explains why the village which grew near the matha came to be called Golaki, finally corrupted into Gorgi. That the original Golakī Matha was situated in the capital of the Kalachuri kings is confirmed by an inscription found at Tripurāntakam which clearly states that it was situated in Tripuri itself. We can now easily see why Yuvarājadeva selected a pretty remote place for a matha similar to the one his guru built at his own capital. Had he chosen to build one in the same city after his guru had built it, it would have been interpreted as arising from jealousy with his own guru. On the other hand, the absence of a temple and monastery on an adequate scale by the royal house would have been regarded as very derogatory, especially to a king who was really super-charitable, as is evident from the magnitude<sup>1</sup> of a single gift made by him to his guru. As a matter of fact almost every king in his line endeavoured to build a temple or monastery either for personal fame or for religious merit accruing from such an act. For instance, we find Lakshmanarāja, son of Yuvarājadeva I, establishing a monastery at Bilahri in the Jubbulpore district. Again we find his son Śankaragana founding another at Deori Maḍhā, which I visited a month ago.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At first sight the figures of 3 lakhs villages appears incredible, but looking to the size of villages in the Baster State, some of which could be bought for a rupee each a quarter of a century ago, when I toured in that country, the wonder excited would cease to exist. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal informs me that according to Abhidhāna Rājendra, the Rutlam Jain dictionary, a ग्राम originally signified करै:

यद्गम्यते or that which is the subject of an assessment. It may even be a holding of a few acres of land, which I actually found to be the case in the Wardha district. While checking the Patwari's work I suddenly entered a field which the record showed as belonging to a distinct village, and when I asked where the village was, I was informed that it was a deserted village which consisted of that field alone in which I was standing.

<sup>2</sup> The ruins here which are on the bank of the river Kena (Karnavati) exhibit a peculiar arrangement. In the centre there was a big temple of Siva, on either side of which there were apparently six rows of structures, each row

The ascetic whom Yuvarājadeva I made the first abbot of his monastery was brought from Madhumati in Malwā, which was the abode of Saiddhāntikas (Śaivas) and was "full of peacocks, shrieking and dancing in joy." From this fact it appears that the clan name Mattamayūra of these Śaivas was derived. In fact Madhumati was sometimes called by the alternative name of Mattamayūra. The Bilhari abbots were drafted from the same quarters. Their common spiritual ancestor was one Purandara, who was brought from Kadam-bagubā by king Avantivarman. He founded two monasteries, one at Madhumati and another at Ranod in the Gwalior State. At the former place he was in due course succeeded by his disciple Chūḍaśiva *alias* Śikhāśiva, who had two disciples, Prabhāvaśiva and Hṛidayaśiva. The former became the first abbot of Gorgi and Chandrehe branch, while the latter became the head of the Bilhari branch. These find a mention in the Prasastis of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri. But it is somewhat curious that in recounting the meritorious deeds of the various kings of that line the panegyrists omitted to mention such grants as those of three lakhs of villages or erection of temples at very heavy expenditure. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that a charitable gift must be kept secret, so that the left hand may not know what the right had done. The inscriptions show that the kings of Malwa, Tripuri and Warangal were the greatest supporters of the Pāśupatā pantha to which the Golakī Maṭha subscribed, and their influence, coupled with the fact that the most learned scholars and devotees were selected as heads of that institution from a vast field ranging from Bengal to Malabar, no less than the liberal views it inculcated, rendered it a popular institution. Of course the tenets of the sect were tāntrika, which made provision even for human sacrifices for the general welfare. The

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having five small open enclosures, in each of which a Śiva lingam was enshrined, apparently along with a jogini. On the four corners of the big temple were four other small shrines, thus making up a total of 64 subordinate shrines. An inscription on the spot mentions the name of Śaṅkaragaṇa. Deori is only three or four miles from Bilhari.

Malkāpuram inscription states that for the protection of the village Viśveśvara-Śivāchārya appointed ten village guards called vīrabhadras, who either cut off their own head, stomach or scrotum in performance of this duty. There were some sects included in it like that of Kōṅgavīras, who used to cut off their heads and tongues in a maṇḍapa especially erected for that purpose with a religious fervour worthy of a better cause.



#### IV.—On a Satya Pir Legend in Santali Guise

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The worship of the deity Satyanārāyaṇa is very popular throughout Northern India including Bengal. It is believed by some that the deity Satyanārāyaṇa is a replica of the Mohammedan saint named Satya Pir, whom the Hindus borrowed from the Mussalmāns, rehabilitated him as one of their own gods and installed him in their own pantheon. But this is not so. As I have shown elsewhere, it is well known that the Mussalmāns of Bengal have a saint named Satya Pir whom they venerate as a holy personage possessed of extraordinary thaumaturgic power. While the Hindus of Bengal worship Satyanārāyaṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu. So far as Bengal is concerned, the two cults, namely that of the saint Satya Pir and the worship of the deity Satyanārāyaṇa, appear to have existed side by side. It is just plausible enough that, on account of the similarity between the first part of the Mussalmān saint's name and that of the Hindu deity's cognomen, and also by reason of the great amity that existed between the Mohammedans and the Hindus of Bengal in the olden times, a confusion of ideas arose in the minds of the Hindus, which led them to think that Satya Pir and Satyanārāyaṇa might be one and the same divine being. In course of time this indefinite thought became confirmed into the positive belief that *they are identical beings*. As the result of this, the Hindu laity of Bengal, and, for the matter of that, some of the older Bengali poets began to look upon Satya Pir as a replica of Satyanārāyaṇa, and composed poems in honour of the saint.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the arguments in support of my theory, vide my article entitled *On the worship of the deity Satyanārāyaṇa in Northern India*, which has been published in the *Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society*, Vol. XI. pp. 768-776.

There are many legends connected with the Mussalmān saint Satya Pir. In the present paper, I shall deal with and discuss one of these legends and show that a variant of it is prevalent among the Santals resident in the Santal Parganas and try to find out how it has found its way among these people, who are admittedly in a low plane of culture.

An ancient Bengali poet, named *Kaviballabh*, has written a book entitled *Satyanārāyaṇa Punthi* or *A Book in praise of (the deity) Satyanārāyaṇa*. A manuscript of this Bengali metrical composition, which is believed to be more than two hundred years old, has been collected from the district of Murshidabad in North-Western Bengal and edited and printed by the *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat* or The Academy of Bengali Literature at Calcutta. This poem sets forth the undermentioned interesting legend about the miracles performed by the deity *Satyanārāyaṇa* :—

(1) Once upon a time there lived two merchants named Sadānanda and Benode. They made preparations for setting out on a trading expedition. At the time of their departure, they placed their youngest brother Madana under the charge of their respective wives, named Sumati and Kumati. Madana requested his brothers to bring for him a falcon. After they had sailed over the river for several days, they witnessed a wonderful sight. They saw a sepulchral monument floating on the river and dancing girls were dancing to the music played by musicians. Another miraculous sight they witnessed, was that four *faquirs* had seated themselves on deer-skins spread out on the surface of the river water and were saying their prayers thereupon. Several days after they had witnessed this miraculous sight, they arrived in the kingdom of Rājā Varṇneśvara and reported to him the fact of their having witnessed it. Having made up his mind to see this wonderful sight the Rājā accompanied the two merchants to the place of its occurrence. But as the saint (Satya Pir) had become angry with the two merchants they were unable to show the Rājā the aforementioned miraculous sight. Being enraged at the failure, the Rājā made

up his mind to offer them as human sacrifices to the goddess Vasuli, but on the intercession of the saint Satya Pīr the Rājā countermanded his order for immolating them as sacrifices and ordered them to undergo imprisonment for twelve years.

(2) In the meantime Sumati and Kumati became anxious and began to worship the gods, praying for the safe return of their husbands. Coming to know of their hearts' desire, Satya Pīr or Nārāyaṇa assuming the shape of a handsome boy of 12 years attired in humble clothing, took his stand on the river bank. Thinking him to be the god Śiva in disguise, they went to him and prayed to him so that he might grant them boons. Accordingly the saint in the guise of the boy conferred this boon on them that they might be blessed with sons. The two ladies thereupon told his saintship that it was impossible for them to have sons as their husbands had left their homes and had not been heard of for twelve years. Hearing this, his saintship advised them to present him with offerings of sweetmeats (*shinni*). At first they refused to pay their devours to the Musalmān saint Satya Pīr. But when the latter explained to them that Allah and Śiva were one and the same Supreme Being, they consented to pay their devours to his saintship. Thereupon they took lessons in the art of witchcraft from the saint.

(3) One day Sumati and Kumati came to know that princess Kuntalā would perform the *Svayamvara* ceremony. So they made up their minds to travel on a tree through the air by means of their magical power and visit the place where the ceremony would be held. Coming to know of their intentions secretly, the youngest brother Madan resolved to accompany them thither. Fearing that if his two sisters-in-law would come to know of his determination, they might kill him by means of their magic spells, he attired himself in rags and concealed himself among the foliage of the magic tree from before. Thereafter the two ladies came and climbed up the magic tree and started for Kuntalanagara. After their arrival there, Madan, attired as he were in dirty rags, attended the *Svayamvara assembly*. At the behest of the saint *Satya Pīr*, princess

Kuntalā presented the rag-attired Madana with the marriage-garland. Although everybody in the assembly was highly mortified on seeing the extremely humiliating selection made by the princess, she was ultimately married to Madana.

(4) While Madana and his newly-married bride were asleep in the bridal-chamber, he dreamt a dream that the saint Satya Pir had become angry with him. Thereupon he wrote down on a piece of paper the whole of his life-history, kept it upon the bed and without waking up his bride, he climbed up the magic-tree and travelled through the air by means of it and returned home. But nobody came to know anything about this.

(5) Next morning, when she did not find her newly-married husband princess Kuntalā began to weep bitterly for him. Seeing his daughter's sorrow-stricken condition, her father the Rājā began to search for him. When the Rājā arrived in Madana's own country and, not being able to trace out the latter's whereabouts, was about to depart therefrom, Madana presented himself before the king and narrated to him the whole of his own life-history. Thereupon, the Rājā was extremely delighted and presented his son-in-law with numerous valuable presents and brought about a meeting between him and his daughter, the princess. Thereafter Madana returned home with his own wife.

(6) Afterwards, Sumati and Kumati came to hear of these events and suspecting that Madana was aware of the fact that they were adepts in witchcraft, became highly apprehensive about their own safety and therefore made up their minds to slay him by giving him poison. When the saint Satya Pir became aware of this intention, which the two ladies harboured in their minds, he forbade all the shopkeepers to sell poison to anybody. When not being able to buy poison in the market, the two ladies were returning home downhearted they met the saint on the way and informed him of all that had happened in the meantime. Thereupon the saint told them : " My good ladies, I can supply you with a kind of poison, which, if taken by any person, would metamorphose him into a falcon." Accordingly they took the

poison from his saintship, returned home, and having mixed it up with some cooked-rice offered it to Madana to eat. The latter unsuspectingly partook of it and was immediately changed into a falcon. The saint, thereupon, assumed the shape of a big hawk and chased the falcon and seized the latter.

(7) In the meantime the saint Satya Pīr appeared to Rāja Varnasvara in a dream, and ordered him to release the two merchant-brothers Sadānanda and Binoda from imprisonment; which he accordingly did.

(8) After they had been released from the prison, the two merchant brothers set out to return home. On their way homewards they purchased various presents for their respective family members. At the time of purchasing the same, they remembered that their youngest brother, Madanakumāra, had requested them to purchase a falcon for him. They therefore sent messengers in all directions to purchase for them one of these birds. Just at that moment the saint Satya Pīr appeared before the two brothers with the falcon in his hand, the bird being no other than Madanakumāra metamorphosed into an avian form. His saintship told them : " If you present me with an offering of sweet-stuff weighing ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ ) *one one-fourth seer*, I shall make a free gift of this falcon to you." This they accordingly did and taking the falcon from the Pīr, returned home and began to search for their youngest brother Madanakumāra. Thereupon their wives Sumati and Kumati wept aloud and said : " Oh Lords ! we had married Madanakumāra to princess Kuntalā, who was an ogress in human form. On the very night of the marriage, she killed her husband and ate him up." On hearing this the two brothers were much stricken with sorrow and sent the falcon to their deceased brother's widow, the princess. She very gladly took the bird as it had been much coveted by her husband.

(9) Shortly after this, the saint Satya Pīr, assuming the guise of a mendicant, went to the princess and begged for alms from her. Having nothing else by her at that time, she offered him  $1\frac{1}{4}$  (one one-fourth) handful of rice, which he gladly

accepted and went away. Under the influence of the Pir's blessing, all the rice in the store-room of the princess was changed into pearls. At this she was highly delighted and, for the welfare of her husband, made up her mind to offer, as previously, the prescribed quantity of sweet-stuff or *shinni* to the Pir; she distributed the *shinni* to everybody present and even fed the falcon with a portion of it. Immediately on partaking of the food-offering, the falcon was metamorphosed into Madana. Thereafter the three brothers and their family members were reunited and lived happily ever afterwards.

There is current in Bengal another variant of the foregoing legend, the incidents of which are very similar to those of the preceding one, as will appear from the undermentioned abstract :—

(1) At Chandan-nagar there lived a merchant named Jayadhara, who died leaving three sons. The two elder of these sons were named Madana and Kāmadeva, whose respective wives were named Sumati and Kumati. While the name of the youngest son was Sundara, who was unmarried.

(2) Sumati and Kumati were really witches in human form and had their home in Kaynur in Assam. They were in the habit of climbing upon a tree every night and by means of their magical spells, of travelling on this vehicle through the air to Kaynur.

(3) Shortly afterwards the two brothers Madan and Kāmadeva set out on a trading expedition. Before starting they made over their youngest brother Sundara to the care of their respective wives. At the same time the latter requested his brothers to bring for him a bird called *Suka* from the foreign parts they would visit.

(4) During their husbands' absence Sumati and Kumati used to leave their home and visit Kaynur riding on their tree vehicle. Sundara came to know of this as also of the fact that his two sisters-in-law were witches.

(5) When Sumati and Kumati came to know that their youngest brother-in-law had discovered their real character,



they with the assistance of the Goddess Kālī, slew him on two occasions. But on both these occasions the saint Satya Pīr, by his miraculous power, restored Sundara to life.

(6) When the princess of Kaynur was about to perform a *Svayamvara* ceremony for the selection of her husband, Sundara concealed himself among the foliage of his sisters-in-laws' magical trip-vehicle and without their knowing of it, accompanied them to Kaynur and appeared in the marriage assembly. After his arrival there he took his seat among the assembled princes. At Satya Pīr's behest the princess presented Sundara with the marriage-garland and they were married in due form. During the marriage night Sundara fearing that he would be left alone there by his sisters-in-law, again concealed himself in the tree-vehicle and returned with them to Chandannagore. Before leaving her, he wrote on his wife's apron an account of his own life and telling her at the same time to seek for him at Chandannagore.

(7) After their return while Sundara was sleeping one night, the two sisters-in-law tied a charm to his neck whereupon he was immediately metamorphosed into a *Śuka* bird, which they let fly in the forest. This bird was captured by a fowler, who took it for sale to the seaside. At this time the two brothers, Madan and Kāmadeva, were returning from their trading expedition and seeing the *Śuka* bird purchased it from the fowler as a present for their youngest brother.

(8) In the meantime the princess of Kaynur had come to Chandannagore in search of her missing husband and took up her residence in the latter's house. Shortly afterwards the two brothers Madan and Kāmadeva returned home and were given to understand by their wives that their youngest brother Sundara had become addicted to vicious habits during their absence, had left home and that his whereabouts could not be traced out by them. On hearing this they became very much stricken with grief and presented the *Śuka* bird to Madan's widow, the princess, telling her to cherish it carefully.

(9) One day, while the princess was caressing the *Śuka* bird, she found a charm tied to its neck. As soon as she untied the charm from its neck, Sundara reassumed his human shape and stood before her but, for the purpose of preparing a pleasant surprise for her two elder brothers-in-law, Madana and Kāmadeva, she again changed Sundara into his avian form.

(10) One day she invited Madana and Kāmadeva to a feast. While they were seated and partaking of the meal, she had kept a third seat vacant for her husband. She requested her brothers-in-law to call out aloud for her husband by his name, which they did accordingly. As soon as they had done this, she untied the spell from the *Śuka* bird's neck, whereupon Sundara reassumed his human shape, seated himself by his brothers' side and partook of the meal. Thereafter he told them that his two sisters-in-law Sumati and Kumati were witches and had tried to kill him on two occasions and had spread false report about his disappearance. On hearing this Madana and Kāmadeva became greatly enraged with their wives and punished them by burying them alive in a pit. Very curiously enough, the incidents of the aforementioned two Satya Pir legends<sup>1</sup> are to be found in the undermentioned folktale, which is current among the Santals, who belong to a pre-dravidian race which live in the Santal Parganas and is in a low plane of culture :—

Once upon a time there were seven brothers, of whom the six elder were married and used to spend a good deal of their time in hunting, while the youngest brother was unmarried and looked after the cattle. While the six elder brothers were away from home a-hunting, their wives, who were all witches, used to ride upon a Pipal tree and go to distant countries and to eat men and do all other kinds of devilry. One day the youngest brother hid himself in a hollow of the Pipal tree. Then his six sisters-in-law rode upon the tree and were carried

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller version of these variant, vide Dr. Diush Chandra Sen's *The Folk Literature of Bengal* published by the University of Calcutta, 1920, pp. 103—113.

to the bank of a large river. There the six witches descended from the tree and disappeared. Shortly afterwards they came, climbed up the tree and rode back home. Arrived there they found their brother-in-law hiding in the tree hollow. So they drove two iron nails into the soles of his feet and changed him into a dog. Though he could not speak, he understood all his sisters-in-law said. When the six elder brothers returned home they were informed that their youngest brother had disappeared. They searched for him high and low but could not find him. So they gave him up for lost. The Rājā of the country had three marriageable daughters whom he wished to marry. So he summoned an assemblage of suitors so that the princesses may select their husbands from them. The six elder brothers followed by the dog went to the assemblage. The eldest princess caught a fly and tied a white thread to it and let it fly; the person on whom it would settle would be her husband. Then the second princess caught another fly, tied to it a piece of red thread and let it fly; and the person on whom it would sit would become her husband. In the same way, the third princess caught a fly, tied a blue thread to it and let it fly so that the person on whom it would settle would become her husband. The second and third princesses' flies sat on two persons. But the white-threaded fly settled on the dog. At this the crowd laughed and jeered. But the eldest princess said that she must accept what Fate had decreed for her and must marry the dog. So the eldest princess was married to the dog with due rites and ceremonies. The eldest princess however stayed with the dog in her father's palace.

One day, shortly afterwards, when the dog was lying on its side after taking its dinner, the eldest princess saw that the heads of two nails were projecting from the dog's feet. Thinking that this made the dog limp, she brought a pair of pincers and extracted the nails. No sooner was this done than the dog reassumed his human form and became a handsome young man. So he and his wife lived happily together.

Some time afterwards, the six elder brothers went on a visit to the Rājā to see their youngest sister-in-law. Arrived there, they found that the dog had been metamorphosed into their youngest brother, and came to know from him that their own wives had, by means of witchcraft, changed their youngest brother to a dog. So they made up their minds to punish them. With this object in view, on their arrival home, they ordered a large well to be dug. When it was ready, they told their wives to join the consecration ceremony; which was to ensure a plentiful supply of pure water. So the six witches went to the well and, while their attention was occupied, their husbands pushed them all into the well and filled it up with earth and that was the end of the witches.<sup>1</sup>

The story-radical which underlies the three foregoing folk-legends may be formulated as follows :—

- (1) Two or more persons, all of whom were married, had a youngest brother who was unmarried.
- (2) The wives of the elder brothers were all witches and bore a grudge against their youngest brother-in-law. In order to satisfy their grudge, they administered a magic potion to the latter or cast spells upon him. By drinking the potion or under the influence of the spells he was changed into a bird or a dog.
- (3) By the blessing of the Supernatural Being, he married a princess, who was able to remove the evil influence of the charms and to restore her husband, who was disguised under the form of a bird or a dog, into his former human shape.
- (4) Subsequently the youngest brother informed his elder brothers of the fact that their wives were witches and had, by means of their enchantments changed him into a bird or a dog. On hearing

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller version of this Santali folktale, vide C. H. Bompas' *Folklore of the Santals*. London : David Nutt. 1909, pages 81-84.

this, they were exceedingly angry with their wives, whom they subsequently killed by way of punishment.

As the foregoing story-radical does not come within the category of the *seventy (70) Types of Folktales studied and classified by the Folklore Society of London*, I am of opinion that it is an altogether new one. I have therefore named it *The Bewitched Youngest Brother Type*.

Then arises the question :—

How has the Satya Pir legend found its way among the Santals? As western Bengal is conterminous with the Santal Parganas, which is the house of the Pre-Dravidian Santals, I am of opinion that the Santals borrowed the legend from the Bengalis and assimilated it as their own, making sundry changes to suit their local conditions. For instance, in the two Satya Pir legends, the bewitched youngest brother is changed into a bird. Whereas in the Santali variant he is transformed into a dog. Then again, in the two former legends, a charm is tied round the young man's neck whereupon he is changed into a *Suka* bird. Whereas in the latter version two nails are driven into the soles of his feet, whereupon he is changed into a dog.

I shall now deal with two interesting points which are to be found in the three preceding folk legends. They are as follows :—

- (a) In the Satya Pir legends and in the Santali folktales, the witches are represented as going from place to place, riding upon a tree. This is analogous to the European witches' habit of performing journeys by riding upon a broomstick.<sup>1</sup>

It will not be out of place to state here that even in such a civilized country as England, the belief in black witches,

<sup>1</sup> Vide *An Introduction to Folklore* by Marion Roalfe Cox. London, David Nutt, 1897, pages 168, 169.

that is to say, those witches who bring plagues and tempest, *bewitched their enemies*, and terrify children, is prevalent among the illiterate folks in the remote countryside thereof. The magical rites by which a woman initiates herself into black witchcraft are curious and may be described as follows :—

“ At midnight on Saint Mark’s Eve—that is, April 24th—a girl desirous of becoming a witch is bidden to hold three pewter plates, one inside the other, under a bracken fern. The seed of this plant will grow, ripen and fall exactly at the hour of midnight, and though so small that it cannot be seen is yet so strong that it passes through the first two plates and is caught and held in the third. Then the devil comes riding upon a black pig and tries to persuade the holder to sign this bond. If the girl is brave enough to withstand his blandishments and demands knowledge without signing the bond, she becomes a white woman, since the Devil is bound to grant her request. But if she falls a victim to his enticements and agrees to sell her soul she becomes a black witch”.<sup>1</sup>

These English witches are also believed to ride about on broomsticks as will appear from the following evidence from the country of Norfolk in England :—

“ In Norfolk you will find many country people who swear to seeing witches flying to the Sabbaths. These meetings between Satan and his worshippers are held on lonely hills at the time of the fullmoon, and *witches come from vast distances flying on their broomsticks*. ”<sup>2</sup>

(b) As regards the power of the witches and wizards to transform themselves into the shapes of various kinds of beasts, see the examples collected by me and published at pages 376-380 of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII*.

To the foregoing examples I would add the fact that, in the Philippine Islands, the native people believe that witches can

<sup>1</sup> Vide the article entitled *Black and White Witches* published in the Calcutta daily *Englishman* of the 9th August 1926.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*



assume the form of any animal that they may choose and can cast spells over their victims even from a long distance, as will appear from the following evidence, which has recently been collected from these islands :—

“ The Filippine witch is thought to possess *the power to take on the shape of a beast at will and to work evil even at a long distance.* According to the strength of his magic he can cause a selected victim to become seriously ill or to die, and a credulous native, suffering from some malady which he does not understand, immediately believes that he has been bewitched. Often the sickness takes the form of temporary paralysis, or the sick man jumps and twitches as if he had St. Vitus's dance.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vide the article entitled *Witchcraft in the Philippines*, published in the Calcutta daily *Statesman* of Sunday the 10th October 1926.

## V.—Some Notes on Ancient Indian Society

By Manmatha Nath Ray, M.A.

The ancient Ārya Ṛṣis divided the life of each and every member of their community into Āśramas—ranging from one to four in accordance with his Varna. The life of a dutiful Brāhmaṇa, in accordance with this system, was divided into four distinct stages, viz. Brahmācārya, Gārhaṣṭhya, Vānaprastha and Parivrājaka. The life of a Kṣātriya and that of a Vaiśya were similarly divided into three stages, viz. Brahmācārya, Gārhaṣṭhya and Vānaprastha<sup>1</sup> while a Śūdra had to remain contented with one and only one stage of life, viz. Gārhaṣṭhya. Indeed, the ancient lawgivers were so very strict on this point that it was considered to be a great sin, which could be neutralised only by certain penitentiary rites, if a twice-born man ventured to pass a single day during his lifetime when no particular Āśrama could call him to be its own.<sup>2</sup> It was for this reason that a Brahmācārī entered into wedlock soon after taking his Samāvartana bath that marked the end of the period of his studentship, and that a poor widower hastened to re-marry before the ashes of his wife cooled down sufficiently.

It should be noted here that this system of dividing the life of an individual into a few well-marked stages was confined to the male members of the society alone. In ancient times the womenfolk suffered very badly at the hands of lawgivers all over the world. Our Ārya ancestors refused to admit that a woman, like her male partner, had a separate existence at all. Dependence on the will of others was her destined lot. Says the greatest of our ancient lawgivers, "A woman must not do anything even at home without first getting the approval of the

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<sup>1</sup> Laghu-Viṣṇu Smṛti. V. 13. The Vāmana Purāṇa, however, prescribes only two stages of life for a Vaiśya. (XIV. 118).

<sup>2</sup> Skanda Purāṇa (IV. 36. 35-36); Dakṣa-Saṁhitā (I. 9-11); Vṛddha-Hārīta Smṛti (XI. 217).

same from her lawful custodian, whether she be a child, or a young lady, or an old woman; during childhood she should submit to the rule of her parents, during youth to that of her husband, and during her old age on the death of her lord to that of her sons. She should never seek to lead an independent life."<sup>3</sup>

Thus though dependent in every way on her lawful guardians from her very birth to death, a woman, I am inclined to believe, had to pass through at least three well-marked stages of life, like an intruder though:—to wit, the life of a virgin when she was entirely dependent on her father, and this answered to the life of a student spent by the boys; her married life which was *Gārbhasthya* pure and simple; and the last stage, viz. that of retirement, whether she spent it at home as a widow, or as the dutiful companion by the side of her lord in the forests, answered to the *Vānaprastha* resorted to by the male members of the society.

Thus, broadly speaking, each and every member of ancient Aryan society, whether male or female, had to spend his or her life in three different *Āśramas* at least. But whichever be the *Āśrama* in which one spent a particular period of his or her life, the ideal was the same. It was one continuous effort to concentrate his or her undivided attention on one and one being only who for the time being at least, was to him or her, the faithful image of the Brahman himself. To be more clear, the *Brahmacārin* during the period of his novitiate knew naught but his ideal man—his guru; the man of world was similarly expected to know no other woman intimately in this world but his wife, who alone could heighten his joy and diminish the burden of his sorrow by sharing it with her husband; and the hermit or the wanderer was similarly required to remain indifferent to the manifold pleasures and pains of this world and to fix his undivided attention on the Supreme Soul.

In the same way a woman after her marriage was expected to lose her identity by merging her whole self into that of her

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<sup>3</sup> *Manu* (V. 147-148).

lord, even as a river loses its identity when it meets the sea. Indeed, during her lifetime, whether her husband were dead or alive, she was to know no other man. This explains why our lawgivers refused to give a separate existence to a married woman.

But the peculiar trend of history with its series of invasions violently disturbed from time to time the *status quo* of the Aryan Society. Thus we see that the high ideal to be pursued by an Indian woman, viz. life-long devotion to one and only one being, was continuously being shaken to its very foundation by an outside agency that had scant respect for Aryan institutions and ideals, and it is a pleasure to note that old lawgivers displayed sufficient courage to face the new situation. Instead of clinging fast to old-world laws and ideas, they devised new measures to grapple with the changed condition of life and there is every reason to believe that these worked smoothly to the satisfaction of all concerned.

For want of a definite chronology of the ancient writers of the Smṛti texts, it will not be possible to give a detailed account of the various steps taken by our ancestors to reclaim the victims of abductions, etc. at the close of each invasion that took place in historical times. But fortunately for us, there is in existence the Devala Smṛti, a work composed probably in the eighth century A. D. in the Sindhu Deśa,<sup>4</sup> which gives a detailed account of the definite steps taken by old lawgivers to meet the new situation created by the foreign invasions with its attendant rapes and abductions.

But before coming straight to Devala and taking up his and other lawgivers' recommendations into consideration, it would be advisable if we first consider the position of women in Aryan Society. Though dependent in every respect on her lawful guardians from her very birth to death, a woman's position in the family circle, or in the society, was never dishonourable.

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<sup>4</sup> Devala-Smṛti, I.

Now, the foremost thing that strikes our imagination deeply is the unreserved trust that the ancients had in the fundamental purity of their womenfolk. It is a fact that the compilers of the *Smṛti* texts along with the writers of the *Purāṇas* are never tired of denouncing the seductive powers of woman,<sup>5</sup> her insatiable passion,<sup>6</sup> her insincerity,<sup>7</sup> her sins and her vices,<sup>8</sup> but in the same breath they hasten to preach the fundamental purity of woman which is inviolable, and as true as an axiom.

It has been declared very solemnly that "a woman is pure by nature, as the moon, the Gandharvas as well as Aṅgirā joined hands to give her purity, while Agni gave her an all-round innocence."<sup>9</sup>

Elsewhere we are told that "generally speaking women are pure, as the moon gave them purity; the Gandharvas, their harmony of speech; and Agni invested them with innocence; thus an uncorrupt woman should be regarded as pure by nature."<sup>10</sup>

In fact, one writer of the *Purāṇas* went so far as to declare them above corruption.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, the love-sick Rāma of Bhava-Bhūti's creation was within the lines when he questioned the purifying power of Agni on Sītā who was pure from her very birth.<sup>12</sup>

So, if innocence be the name of woman, and purity her birthright, then how could she—the mother, the sister, the wife and the daughter, all in one, be lost to society "in consequence of adverse enjoyment", and specially so when such situations

<sup>5</sup> Manu (II. 213, 214); Dakṣa Smṛti (IV. 8-10); Bhāgavata (III. 31. 34ff), Linga (I. 8. 21-23); Brahma Vaivarta (IV. 61. 35), etc.

<sup>6</sup> Manu (IX. 14-17); Siva (VI. 43. 140); Garuḍa (I. 109. 33-40); Skanda (VI. 81. 31ff., VII (a). 101. 11.13); Bhāgavata (IX. 14. 88); Brahma Vaivarta (IV. 28. 172) etc.

<sup>7</sup> Siva (VI. 44. 25-26); Varāha (177 18); Garuḍa (I. 144. 9) Brahma (101. 14-16), etc.

<sup>8</sup> Siva (VI. 43. 13, VI. 44. 5-6.)

<sup>9</sup> Atri-Saṁhitā (139.); Yājñavalkya (I. 71).

<sup>10</sup> Garuḍa (I. 95. 19).

<sup>11</sup> Agni (165. 19-21).

<sup>12</sup> Uttara-Bāma-Carita (I. 13).

were created against her will by the brute in man? Taking all these facts into consideration, the Ārya R̥sis of old proceeded to reclaim such unfortunate men and women as had been abducted or dishonoured, against their will, by the powerful enemy whose ideals of chastity as well as those of life itself differed from their own.

Devala, the great seer of Sindh, gives it as his considered opinion—

ब्राह्मणी भोजयेन्मुच्छ्रमभक्ष्यं भक्षयेद्यदि । पराकेण ततः शुद्धिः  
पादेनोत्तरोत्तरान् ॥

न कृत मैथुनं ताभिरभक्ष्यं नैवभक्षितम् । शुद्धिस्तदा त्रिरात्रेण  
मुच्छ्राप्तेनैव भक्षिते ॥ <sup>14</sup>

If a Brāhmaṇī happens to feed a Mleccha, or to eat the proscribed articles of food, she would attain purity if she observes a Parāka penance. A quarter less is prescribed for the female members of the remaining Varnas in the descending order of the social grade. In the absence of physical relations, or of the eating of proscribed articles of food, or even if she has taken the food belonging to a Mleccha, she would attain purity on the lapse of three nights.

मुच्छ्राप्तं मुच्छसंस्पर्शं मुच्छेन सह संस्थितिः । वत्सरः वत्सरा-  
दूर्ध्वं त्रिरात्रेण विशुद्धति ॥

मुच्छैर्ह्वानां चोर्वैर्वा कान्तारेषु प्रवासिनाम् । मुक्त्वा भक्ष्यम-  
भक्ष्यं वा क्षुधार्तेन भयेन वा ॥

पुनः प्राप्य स्वकं देशं चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य निष्कृतिः । <sup>15</sup>

The sins arising out of eating the food belonging to a Mleccha, or touching him, or spending a year or more with him, are neutralised on the lapse of three nights.

The members of the four orders, when abducted by Mlecchas or thieves, or stranded in an uninhabited tract of country, if

<sup>14</sup> Devala Smṛti 38-39.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 44-46.



they happen to eat the proscribed dishes being pressed by hunger or through fear, attain purity on reaching their homeland.

It will be seen from the above extracts that an abducted woman, if constrained to eat the proscribed foods offered by a Mleccha or if forced to live with him for some time without having any carnal relations with him, hardly incurred any guilt thereby; therefore, the penance prescribed is also very light. Now we will consider how her position was affected if she had had any physical relations with the abducting Mleccha.

This brings directly to the subject of rapes.

Here, as elsewhere, her inherent purity, her inviolability and her innocence were taken into consideration, and then the writers of the Smṛti texts came to the conclusion that a woman was incapable of being corrupted, and no one had a right to question her purity.

But to revert to the topic in hand. The word rape signifies brute force on the part of the man committing the act and absence of will on the part of the woman. Here we will pause for a moment to consider with whom lies the responsibility of the act. At first we will consider the position of the man committing the act. The man, it must be admitted, impelled by his Saṃskāra, which is nothing but the direct child of his previous Karmas or actions, has in this case voluntarily made such an effort (Kṛti) as to produce this act. Here because his action has been preceded by effort (Kṛti) which again has been the direct consequence of his will, therefore he is responsible for the act. The term responsibility implies Icchā as well as Kṛti. Man is not immediately responsible for his desires or Icchā. But in his case responsibility steps in so far as Kṛti comes in between his desire and the act. We call such acts mischievous because the motive was anything but laudable.

Next, we take up the case of the woman who was an unwilling party in this affair. It is an admitted fact that in the matter of physical strength, she stands no comparison

with her aggressor. Indeed, had she been able to ward off this wanton attack on her sacred person and her still-more sacred honour, there could not have been perpetrated such an act altogether. But the fact remains that she is delicate by nature, hence completely in the power of the brute in man.

But to return to the subject of her responsibility in such matters. The term "responsible action" implies personal egoism or the sense of agency on the part of the doer. It signifies independence on the part of the agent, so he may do something (kartum), may not do it (a-kartum), or may do it by some other methods (anyathā-kartum). If this be the nature of responsibility, then how could we hold a woman responsible for an act over which she had hardly any control? The ancient lawgivers recognised this fact and for this very reason they were definitely in favour of taking such unfortunate women back into the society. They also recognised the fact that society is a living and breathing and pulsating organism, that adaptation to circumstances is its life secret, that change is an index to life while immobility denotes death.

Thus they have prescribed :

स्वयं विप्रतिपन्ना या यदि वा विप्रतारिता । बलाभारी प्रभुक्ता वा  
चौरमुक्ता तथापि वा ॥

न स्याज्या दुषिता नारी न कामोऽस्या विधीयते । ऋतुकाल  
उपासीत पुष्पकालेन शुध्यति ॥ <sup>16</sup>

If female modesty is outraged by the application of force or by stealth or by treachery or when a woman is in a confused state of mind, she must not be disowned, for she was not a willing party to this affair. The husband should approach her during the menstruation period because of the purifying effect of the monthly flow. Again,

सक्तद्रुका तु या नारी ह्येच्छैर्या पापकर्मभिः । प्राजापत्येन शुध्येत  
ऋतुप्रसवणेन तु ॥

<sup>16</sup> Atri Smṛiti, 198-194. Also cf. Atri Smṛiti V. 2-3; Vasiṣṭha Smṛiti, (28.2-3).

बलाद्धृता स्वयं वापि परप्रतारिता यदि । सकृद्बुक्ता तु या नारी  
प्राजापत्येन शुद्धति ॥ <sup>17</sup>

A woman who has been violated only once by the vicious Mlecchas would regain her purity by observing one Prājāpatya and by the monthly flow. Similary, a woman who has been raped or violated through superior cunning would become pure if she observes one Prājāpatya penance.

बन्दिप्राहेण या भुक्ता हत्वा बध्वा बलाद्भयात् । कृत्वा सन्तापनं  
कच्छं शुध्येत्पराशरीऽब्रवीत् ॥ <sup>18</sup>

A woman who has been violated during her captivity, or at the point of the sword, being bound hand and foot, or by the application of force, will attain purity by observing one Kṛechra Santāpana penance.

अकामा या बलिष्ठेन न स्त्री जारेण दुष्यति ॥ <sup>19</sup>

An unwilling woman who has been ravished by a robust fellow, cannot be blamed.

अकामती न दुष्टा सा प्रायश्चित्तेन शुध्यति । कामभोगेन त्याज्या  
सा कर्मभोगेन शुध्यति ॥ <sup>20</sup>

An unwilling woman must not be blamed ; she would attain purity if she observes penances. But if she be a willing party, she should be disowned ; she will be pure after running out the lease of her Karma.

अनिच्छया च शृंगारे न स्त्री जारेण दुष्यति । दुष्टा स्त्री निश्चितं  
साधिव स्वेच्छाशृंगारकर्मणि ॥ <sup>21</sup>

An unwilling woman submitting to the embraces of a brawny fellow does not become impure ; but one who willingly submits to the embraces of a man, certainly becomes impure thereby.

<sup>17</sup> Atri (197-198).

<sup>18</sup> Parāśara Saṁhitā, 10. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Brahma Vaivarta (II. 58. 109).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. (IV. 47. 40).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. (IV. 61. 53.)

Thus, it will be clear from the above extracts that old lawgivers were definitely averse to disowning such women as had been deflowered against their will by rogues. So they have prescribed certain penances which went to purify their body.

This done, we will consider the case of such unfortunate women as were obliged to bear a foetus as a result of these rapes.

It is laid down—

असवर्णेस्तु यो गर्भः स्त्रीणां योनीं निषिच्यते । अशुद्धा सा भवेन्नारी यावद्गर्भं न मुञ्चति ॥

विमुक्ते तु ततः शल्यं रजश्चापि प्रहृश्यते । तदा तु शुध्यते नारी विमलं काञ्चनं यथा ॥ <sup>22</sup>

A woman who becomes pregnant as the result of an irregular union, remains impure till the birth of the child. After that event and on the resumption of the monthly flow she becomes pure like gold.

गृहोता स्त्री बलादेव मुञ्चेदगुर्वीकृता यदि । गुर्वी न शुद्धिमाप्नोति त्रिरात्रेणेतरा शुचिः ॥

योषा गर्भं विधत्ते या मुञ्चेत्कामादकामतः । ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा वर्णेतरा च या ॥

अभक्ष्यभक्षणं कुर्यात्तस्याः शुचिः कथं भवेत् । कृच्छ्रं सातपथं शुद्धिर्घृतैर्योनिश्च पाचनम् ॥

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स गर्भो दीयतेऽन्यस्मै स्वयं ब्राह्मो न कर्हिचित् । स्वजातौ वर्जयेद्यस्मात्संकरः स्यादतोऽन्यथा ॥ <sup>23</sup>

A girl who becomes pregnant as a result of being raped by a Mleccha, becomes impure thereby; otherwise she would become pure on the lapse of three nights. The womenfolk of the four orders as well as those of other castes, who happen to become pregnant as a direct consequence of coming in contract with Mlecchas, or who happen to eat the proscribed dishes willingly or unwillingly would become pure by observing

<sup>22</sup> Atri Samhitā, 191-191; cf. Devala Smṛti, 50-51.

<sup>23</sup> Devala Smṛti, 47-52.

a Kṛcchra Sāntapana penance and by cleansing the private parts with clarified butter.

A woman who becomes pregnant, etc.

The child born of such unions should be given away to others and must not be retained. The caste fellows too should reject such children for fear of causing a mixture of castes.

It may be pertinently asked why the lawgivers have prescribed penances for the expiation of slips and peccadilloes that were unwillingly done. At the very outset it should be noticed that the intrinsic value of the Prāyaścittas lies in this, that they are the outward manifestations of the heartfelt remorse experienced by the sinner. The Rṣis of old have prescribed no expiatory rites for an unrepentant being who has deliberately sinned against social decorum or the demands of the religious laws. Says Hārīta the senior—

कृते पापे यस्य पुंसः पश्चात्तापोऽनुजायते । प्रायश्चित्तं तु तस्यैव  
कर्त्तव्यं नेतरस्य तु ॥

जातानुतापस्य भवेत्प्रायश्चित्तं यथोदितम् । नानुतापस्य पुंसस्तु  
प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥

नाश्वमेधफलानापि नानुतापी विशुध्यति । तस्माज्जातानुतापस्य  
प्रायश्चित्तं विधीयते ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

यः कामतो महापापं नरः कुर्यात्कथंचन । न तस्य शुद्धिर्निर्दिष्टा  
भृग्वग्निपतनं विना ॥

प्रायश्चित्तैरपैत्येनो यदकामकृतं भवेत् । \* \* \*

तस्मादकामतः पापः प्रायश्चित्तेन शुध्यति । \* \* \*<sup>24</sup>

Expiatory rites for the removal of sins should be observed by only such persons as are repentant ; others must not undertake these. The prescribed rites are applicable in the case of repentant souls, while unrepentant beings have no such rites prescribed for them. An unrepentant being does not become pure even by celebrating the Horse Sacrifice. Therefore

Prāyaścittas are meant for the repentant beings. A person guilty of a major sin, deliberately done, can only purify himself by a fall from the precipice or by fire. Prāyaścittas can remove only such sins as were unintentionally committed.

Thus we find that Prāyaścittas are efficacious in removing only such sins as are unintentional.<sup>25</sup> So the lawgivers were in the right when they prescribed that a girl who has been raped by a Mleccha, against her will, should observe a penance for the purification of her body as well as her soul.

This done, I shall now cite a few examples from the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas to illustrate the point involved. Mlecchas are general designations and we have the Asuras and the Rākṣasas here; and we are assured that it was a regular duty of the latter class of beings to violate the chastity of the womenfolk of other beings.<sup>26</sup> So these will serve our purpose.

The Rāmāyaṇa supplies us with several instances of abductions and we are never told that the victims were disowned by their near and dear ones.<sup>27</sup> The most glaring instance is the abduction of Sītā by the Rākṣasa chief, Rāvaṇa, and we know it for certain that Rāma received her once more back into his house after she had successfully passed through an ordeal by fire.<sup>28</sup>

Again, we are told that a Daitya, Anuhlāda by name, abducted Śacī with the connivance of her father. But Indra is said to have won her back by killing the victimiser.<sup>29</sup>

Rumā and Tārā, the wives of Sugrīva and Vālin respectively were appropriated and disgorged by the brothers as a result of their victory and defeat in the course of the fratricidal wars<sup>30</sup> and it is to be noted that none ever thought of disowning his legal wife for being forcibly appropriated by the enemy.

<sup>25</sup> cf. Skanda Purāṇa; Māheśvara Khaṇḍa Kedāra Khaṇḍa (15. 44-46).

<sup>26</sup> Vāmana, XI. 26; also cf. Rāmāyaṇa, V. 20. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, III. 49. 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* VI. 116-120.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* IV. 39, 6-7.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* IV. 4. 27; IV. 26, 42; IV. 29.



Candra is said to have ravished Tārā, the wife of Vṛhaspati but returned her to the poor husband when 'pressed hard' by the Devas led by Brahman. As Tārā was pregnant at that time Vṛhaspati refused to receive her. For this reason Tārā had to eject the foetus.<sup>31</sup>

Gautama's wife, Ahalyā was deflowered by Indra in disguise, but she was reclaimed by the saintly husband on the expiration of the period of her repentance.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly we are told that Lakṣmī who had been abducted by the Daityas under Jambha from the very presence of Dattātreyā was rescued by the Devas and returned to her lord.<sup>33</sup>

The Dānava Pātāla-Ketu is said to have abducted the beautiful daughter of the Gandharva Rāja, Viśvavasu. But she was later on rescued and married by Prince Kuvalayāśva.<sup>34</sup>

In the reign of Rāja Uttama, while a poor Brāhmaṇa was sleeping inside his hut with the door open, the Rākṣasa Valāka carried off his wife. The Brāhmaṇa charged the king with the duty of recovering her. The Rāja tactfully handling the whole affair, persuaded the Rākṣasa to return the woman to the love-sick husband.<sup>35</sup>

Again, we are told that Nala, a friend of Rāja Sudeva, outraged the modesty of the adorable wife of the Ṛṣi Pramati in the very presence of the Rāja. The injured husband being angry reduced the offender to ashes, but never thought of divorcing his wife.<sup>36</sup> Again, Vṛhaspati is said to have ravished his brother's, the sage Utathya's, wife who consequently gave birth to Bhara-Dvāja.<sup>37</sup> Similarly on the death of Kāma Deva, his wife Rati was abducted by the Daitya Samvara at the instigation of Nārada. There she was known as Māyā-

<sup>31</sup> Śiva. I, 45. 22-27; Brahma Vaivarta, II, 58. 4ff; Skanda Avantya Khaṇḍa, 28, 81ff. etc.

<sup>32</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, I, 48-49; Śiva. VI, 11, 3-16.

<sup>33</sup> Mārkaṇḍeya, XVIII, 37ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* XXI.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* LXIX-LXX.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* CXIV. 26ff.

<sup>37</sup> Skanda Kedāra Khaṇḍa, 21. 43ff.

Vatī. Later on she was rescued and married by Kṛṣṇa's son, Pradyumna.<sup>38</sup> Again, the princess Ratnāvali along with her three companions was abducted by the Daitya Suvāhu a denizen of the nether regions. But ultimately they were rescued by the prince Ratna-Cūḍa and married.<sup>39</sup> Similarly Malaya-gandhinī, the beautiful daughter of a Vidyādhara, was abducted by the Daitya Kankāla-Ketu. But she was rescued and married by prince Amitrajit.<sup>40</sup>

The princess Kāma-Pramodinī who had been abducted by the Daitya Samvara, was later on married by the Ṛṣi Māṇḍavya.<sup>41</sup> Again, Indra, in disguise, is said to have violated Bapuṣṭamā, the charming wife of Janamejaya on the occasion of his Horse Sacrifice. But we are never told that she was rejected by her lord.<sup>42</sup>

Thus in former times our lawgivers made a distinction between sins that were intentional, and those that were unintentional, and that they recognised the fact that when a woman was abducted or violated by a man endowed with superior physical strength, the responsibility did not lie with her. For this reason they were definitely in favour of reclaiming such unfortunate girls and restoring them to the society that owes so much to womanhood.

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<sup>38</sup> Skanda, Kedāra Khaṇḍa, 21.106ff. Viṣṇu, V. 27, etc.

<sup>39</sup> Skanda Kāśī Khaṇḍa, 67, 34ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 82.

<sup>41</sup> Skanda Revā Khaṇḍa, 169ff.

<sup>42</sup> Brahma Vaivarta IV. 14. 51-54. But cf. Śiva VI. 11, 17-20.

## VI.—Marriage Customs of the Oraons\*

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

### II.—The Wedding (Benja) Proper

#### (1) Preliminaries

On the night of the *Kōhā Pāhi* ceremony at the bride's house, a large number of small roundish wedding cakes (*benjā lāddu*) are prepared by girls in the houses of both parties. These cakes are made of rice-flour moistened in water, made into small balls and boiled in water; these are distributed among the young men (*dhāngars*) of the village, every young man (even married young men) getting his share of these cakes. Other articles made ready in the houses both of bride and bridegroom for the ceremony include one new winnowing-basket (*keter*), one new basket of a large size (*dowra*) and one of a small size (*bōgi*); one small new earthen pitcher (*kānrsā-bhāṇḍā*), one new earthen lamp (*tāṭṭi*) with four grooved projections for holding wicks, some tender grass shoots (*ḍubbā-gāhhi*), a little vermilion (*sindri*), some sun-dried rice (*ābdā-tikkil*), some powdered arua rice (*ābdā-tikkilgāhi-gūṇḍā*), a little salt (*bek*), some mustard seeds (*manī*), a little raw turmeric (*khenā balkā*) with three or five bulbs each, a bundle of sheaves of paddy (*khes*) with straw (*bāsū*) attached, some *urid* pulse (*Phaseolus roxburghii*), a little oil (*manī-isūng*) that has been pressed out of mustard seeds by a female member of the house whose husband is living, and who has remained fasting until the oil has been extracted and two pots of beer (*borey*), one brewed out of rice another out of *māruā* (*Elusine corocana*). The sheaves of paddy used for the ceremony are specially selected and set apart for the purpose at the time of the preceding harvest. These sheaves are selected and made into a bundle by some young bachelors in the morning after they have satisfied

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\*Concluded from Vol. XII (September 1926) p. 388.

calls of nature ; and they must not spit during the selection of the sheaves nor leave the place even temporarily before the selection is finished. None of these ceremonial articles may be touched by a widow.

On the morning of the wedding day, the *āngan* or open space in front of the house is cleansed with cowdung diluted in water, and the articles mentioned above are brought out to the *āngan*. Three boys select fine long sheaves out of the bundle of the paddy sheaves mentioned above. The *āruā* rice, turmeric, tender grass and mustard seeds are placed in the earthen pitcher (*kārsa-bhāṇḍā*), and the selected paddy sheaves are also put into the pitcher in such a way as to make the upper portion containing the paddy, stick out of the pitcher ; and the leaves attached to the sheaves are are plaited together at the mouth of the pitcher so as to cover it up like a lid. Over this lid is placed an earthen lamp with two wicks laid cross-wise so that their ends project outwards. The two ends of each of the two wicks are lighted, being fed by oil and *urid* pulse placed in the lamp. In some villages a separate lamp-stand (*chaumkā*) with a similar earthen lamp is provided and similarly lighted. The small basket (*bowgi* or *nāchuā*) is covered over with *sāl* leaves, and ropes made of the remaining sheaves of paddy are wrapped round it. In this basket are carried a new cloth (*māi-sāri*) for the bride's mother, a few measures of rice and oil and vermilion for the *isum-sindri* ceremony to be described presently. This basket and the *kārsa-bhāṇḍā* pitcher are arranged side by side on the courtyard (*āngan*) cleaned with cowdung. The *Pāhān* or village priest anoints the basket and the pitcher with a little rice-flour moistened with water and marks each of them with three vermilion lines. The rice-beer in the two pots is now strained and poured into one vessel. The *Pāhān* then ceremonially pours a little of the rice-beer over the basket and the pitcher, and invokes the *Gaon-deotis* or guardian-spirits of the village, saying " You are the *māliks* (masters) of the village, O *Gāon-deoti*. May the wedding pass off successfully ;

<sup>1</sup> See *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, pp. 298, 299.

and may the couple never quarrel." Then all present drink rice-beer. And two women come out to the *āṅgan*, one of them taking on her head the ceremonial pitcher (*kārsābhāṇḍā*) and the other the leaf-bowl in and around which are placed the paddy sheaves left over after selecting those put into the *kārsā-bhāṇḍā*. And thus along with other women they dance the wedding dance to the accompaniment of music played by the village Gōṛāit and Orāons. These preliminary ceremonies are gone through in the houses of the bridegroom as well as of the bride.

### (2) The Marriage Procession

Generally, the bridegroom and his party start in procession for the bride's village early in the morning. The party includes both male and female relatives. Among the semi-Hinduised section of the Orāons known as the *Bhagats*, the party halt under a mango tree on the borders of the village, and the bridegroom together with a woman whose husband is living goes to the tree, ties cotton thread in three folds or turns round its trunk, marking the trunk at each turn with marks of vermilion and of rice-flour moistened with water. The bridegroom ordinarily goes on foot; only in exceptional cases, when his family owns villages or has otherwise grown rich, the bridegroom may be seen riding a pony. In almost all cases, however, the bridegroom carries a sword or knife or sometimes only an iron-shod stick and is attended by musicians playing upon drums and flutes. The party take with them besides jars of rice-beer and provisions for one meal, as they do not take food at the bride's parents' place until the wedding is over. The bridegroom and bride have to keep fast until the wedding is over.

### (3) The Welcome (Parchhana).

On their arrival at the outskirts of the bride's village, the bride's people and their friends and relatives approach them in a body as if to attack or repulse the bridegroom and his party. Men and women on both sides sing indecent and abusive songs accompanied with dances; and young men on both sides, who

carry sticks and clubs, whirl them in a mock-attack on the other side. Formerly this was something more than a mock-fight; and some thirty years ago one could see now and then a few members of either party actually receiving wounds in seeking to ward off the blows of the opposite side. One man on each side carries a special lighted torch made of a sickle wrapped round at its blade with cloth and placed on a plate containing oil. An old woman of the bride's side now approaches the bridegroom's party carrying on her head, over a pad of unbleached cotton thread, a brass jug filled with water in which is dipped a mango twig with its leaves sticking out at the mouth of the jug. She then takes out the mango twig and with it sprinkles water from the jug, first on the bridegroom and then on the rest of the party. The object of this sprinkling with water is, or at any rate was in origin, probably lustration, though now the original purpose is in many places forgotten and there is a tendency to explain it in the manner of the Hindus as a benedictory and not a lustral rite; although when it is suggested to an Oraon that the object is lustration he readily assents that it must be so.

**(4) The Bridegroom pressing the Bride's Heels with his Toes (gurkhi tirkhna)**

Two or more men of the bride's side now carry the bridegroom on their arms and take him inside the bride's house; one or two relatives of the bridegroom sometimes follow him into the house, and the rest of the bridegroom's party go to the quarters (*dera*) allotted to them. The bride and bridegroom have their feet washed and are then made to stand on a curry-stone under which are placed three or five bundles of thatching grass and a yoke. The bridegroom stands behind the bride with his great toe and the next toe of his left foot enclosing the bride's left heel as a fork. During this ceremony the couple are screened round on all sides with cloth screens. A few female relatives of the bride and bridegroom remain inside the screens. One or more male relatives of the bride and bridegroom stand outside the screens with sword in hand, and go on brandishing the sword to ward off evil eye and evil spirits. In some places, the couple



are anointed all over their limbs with pounded turmeric diluted in oil by female relatives. The screens are then taken down and the couple are then bathed in water fetched in two new earthen pitchers from some neighbouring spring or tank by two unmarried girls. While the water is being poured over the heads of the couple a woman of the bride's party rubs the head of the bridegroom with her hands and a woman of the bridegroom's party similarly rubs the head of the bride. The bridegroom then puts a mark of vermilion diluted in oil on the forehead of the bride with the ring finger of his left hand and the bride similarly marks the forehead of the bridegroom. Then two elderly women take up, on their heads, one the grindstone (*silout*) and the other the curry-stone (*lorhā*); some other women take up in their hands the bundles of thatching grass and with these they perform a merry wedding dance. When the couple have been bathed, they are given a change of clothes. The bridegroom is then taken to the quarters allotted to his party.

#### (5) **Isum Sindri, or Anointing with Vermilion**

After a short time the bridegroom is again taken to the bride's house, where a mat is turned upside down three times and spread with its length from north to south. The couple are seated on it, the bride to the left of the bridegroom, both facing east. The female relatives of bride bring a *kia* or small red wooden receptacle (of the size of a snuff-box) containing vermilion, and so too do the female relatives of the bridegroom; and each party exchanges its vermilion-box (*kia-sindri*) with that of the other party. Then either an elder sister or elder brother's wife of the bride combs the hair of the couple and ties up the bride's hair into a knot and takes up vermilion from the vermilion-box (*kia-sindri*), dilutes the vermilion in oil and smears the vermilion thus diluted on the forehead and the temples of the bridegroom and on the forehead and parting (*sinthi*) of the combed hair of the bride. In some places the vermilion marks are made by the bridegroom and bride on each other's forehead and temples, their female relations assisting them by holding and guiding their hands

in putting the *sindūr* marks. During this ceremony one or more men go on playing upon reed-flutes and those who can afford also call *Goṛāit* musicians who play upon drums and pipes. Young men and women sing marriage songs. Many of these songs, which relate to conjugal love and happiness and are full of indecent allusions and abuses, are composed in the local Hindi dialect. Such songs in the Oraon language as are sung on this occasion relate mostly to matter-of-fact things of every-day life. Thus, a most common Oraon song sung on this occasion runs as follows :—

*Khoiondrkā kānnān,*  
*Hoā bhāiyārē sendrā (ōnkā,*  
*Chitrā mākan lāōge,*  
*Hōa bhāiyārē sendrā (ōnkā.*

(Translation)

The arrow by the son's bride brought,<sup>2</sup>  
 Do take it to the hunting-ground !  
 To kill the striped deer, brother,  
 Do take it to the hunting-ground !

The *isām sindri* is now-a-days considered the essential part of a marriage ceremony. It may also be noted that from after this ceremonial tying-up of the bride's hair into a knot she may not take cooked food at the hands of a person not belonging to her tribe.

The young men of the village bring into the room an earthen vessel (*bhāṇḍa*) in which they have put some pepper, kitchen-soot, dried dung of pigs, and similar other substances, and, after shutting the doors and other openings of the room, put fire to the contents of the vessel. The pungent smoke issuing out of it make people sneeze, when the bridegroom's people pay the young men a few annas up to a rupee as a sop to make them stop the nuisance.

<sup>2</sup> *Khoiondrkā kānnān.* This refers to the arrow which the bride's parents hand over to her while sending her to her husband's place.

The females of the bridegroom's party now come with one pot of rice-beer from their quarters to the bride's house and the females of the bride's party also bring out one pot of rice-beer from the house. These are known as *isūm-sindri jhārā* or ceremonial rice-beer for besmearing vermillion. In some places, the Pāhān or priest of the bride's village or some elder of the clan pours libations of rice-beer on the ground to the presiding spirit (*gāon-deoti*) of the village and to the ancestor-spirits of the bride. The woman who rubbed oil and turmeric paste on the bridegroom gives him rice-beer to drink in a leaf-cup three times and similarly the woman who smeared the bride with vermillion gives her three leaf-cupfuls of rice-beer to drink. Then some women of the bride's party distribute liquor in leaf-cups to each of the women of the bridegroom's party and the women of the bridegroom's side distribute rice-beer in leaf-cups to the women of the bride's party. Then the bridegroom is taken back to his quarters after the bridegroom and bride together have saluted each guest individually.

#### (6) Khiri Tengna (Propounding Riddles)

Three or five leaf-cups are now placed before the couple. A woman of the bride's party takes up one leaf-cup after another with two reeds to serve as a pair of tongs, fills each cup with rice-beer, carries the cup first to the lips of the bridegroom, then to the lips of the bride (who are not to drink a drop of the liquor) and finally throws it on to the roof of the hut. In some places each leaf-cup is ceremonially waved three times round and round in front of bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, and other women make the *ulu-lu* sound with their pouting lips. Each time that this liquor known as *Khiri tengnā borey* (riddle-propounding rice-beer) is presented to the lips of the bridegroom, the woman tells him in jest, "*Onā Bādu ! Uiyā kāloey ; ābiri khardoey, Kulkira āmmonkā khardoey amm onā.*" "Drink Boy; when you go to plough, then you will feel tired; if you feel hungry, thirsty or tired, drink water (i.e. rice-beer)" The bride too is similarly addressed while rice-beer is presented to her lips. "*Onāe, Māiā amm. Gōbbare pesha kirkī chūndki ;*

*amm ondārki khardki ondāi amm onāy.*” “Drink girl, [this] water. When you feel tired after collecting oowdung, [or after] husking [paddy], [or after] bringing water, take and drink [this] water.” These cups of rice-beer ceremonially presented are not, as I have said, actually drunk by bridegroom or bride. Before the cups containing *Khiri-tengnā bōrey* are presented to the lips of bride and bridegroom, in some places, by way of jest, some man or woman who has some “joking relationship” with the couple (such as a sister’s husband or wife’s sister) presents empty leaf-cups to the lips of the couple saying, “Drink, Babu, you are thirsty.” The *Maia* (girl) is angry and refuses to drink.” Empty leaf-plates are also placed before them and a pretence of serving rice on these plates and of washing the hands of the couple, as if after they have eaten, is made.

Then actual rice-beer is given first to the bridegroom to drink and next to the bride, and then distributed to all the assembled guests, male and female.

Now an old man or an old woman addresses the couple as follows, three times over again :—

*Khiri khiri māni khiri ; telā-khōppānū men iri ; mendāekā mālā, Babu, mindikā Māia ? Menjkirāe. Babus sendrākalos karngā-kalos. Eret-lāggo tīr-lāggo, lāngrā mānos thūthā mānos. Āsin lāngrā āmkebā, thūthā āmkebā. Māia. Mindikā mālā ? Aur Māiā, chulhānu erkhōs, chūnj-kānū ūmlōs. Āsin ūmblos āmkebā ; āur chulhānū irkhios āmkebā, Māiā. Mindikā mālā ? Dāngrā mōchā kāos. Ādin ōndrōs. Ādin irikey Mai. Ādin ahrā ādhā ādhā mōkkhē. Ādin, Babu, mōkhō-hōlē mōkkhāmkebā, Bābu. Mendae kā mālā ? Aur bhūtang-lō tōkkhā kāo, mānnenti khātūrō. Adigahi kkeḍ esrō, khekha esrō, ādin lāngrī mānjā, ādin thuthi mānjā āmkebā, Bābu. Mendāikā mālā, Bābu ? Nagad nānke ōnkē ; menā Babu ninhu Māiā menāe. Nagad nānke ōnkē. Innāntim sangē nānke ōnkē. Khiri khiri ānti telākhoppānū mānē khiri ānti telākhoppānū ; menē iri ; menā Bābū, menā Māiā, innānti minjkirākē, menā Bābu menjkirāke. Hābrāntim munjrā ākku, kālā ākku. Chōa, ol āggā. Irbarim ol āggā ; ol ākkā raku ; kālā derā.*

"I am now going to tell you riddles—true riddles. In an ebony bush it looks upward.<sup>3</sup> Do you hear, boy? Do you hear, girl? Go on hearing (i.e. retain in your memory what I say). The boy goes to hunt. He will be hit at with an arrow, he will become lame; [yet] don't you call him lame, O, girl. Do you hear or not? Again, he will pass stools into the hearth, micturate into the husking-mortar, [but yet] don't say he has made water, don't say he has passed stools. Do you hear or not? He will go to cut up the carcass of some dead cattle; he will bring that [home]; do you cook that. Both of you eat the meat half and half. O Boy, if she eats, don't say she has eaten. Do you hear or not? And if she goes to pluck *bhutang* from a *bhutang* (*p kur*) tree, and if she falls down [from the tree] and her leg is broken, [or] her hand is broken, don't say, O Boy, that she [has become lame in her leg or maimed in her arm. Do you hear or not, boy? Work well, drink well. Listen, boy; listen thou too, O girl. From this day work together and eat together. I have finished my speech. Now, go; get up and salute [all], both of you." (After the couple salute all present,) "Now, you have finished. Go to your quarters."

The bridegroom is then escorted back to his quarters.

#### (7) *Sabha Sindri*

After the *Khiri-tengna* ceremony, the bride and bridegroom are taken to the marriage-platform (*māṇḍā*) and their formal and open anointing with vermilion known as *Sabhā-Sindri* is performed. Both are seated on a mat turned upside down three times and then spread out on the mud-platform. The bride sits on the left of the bridegroom, with their faces to the east, the bride's sister or other near female relative marks the bridegroom's forehead and temples with vermilion diluted in oil. And similarly the bridegroom's sister or other near female relative marks the bride's forehead and temples with vermilion mixed in oil. Then bridegroom and bride are conducted together to every one of the guests and relatives and each one

<sup>3</sup> The answer to this is, *Asāglāro*, i.e. a kind of hairy insect which is poisonous.



is saluted by the couple. Then the bridegroom is conducted back to the quarters of his party.

#### (8) Mandi-ona or eating rice together

Then some relatives of the bride take a pot of rice-beer, some tobacco leaves, and one small pot of oil, a jug of water, and some tooth-brushes made of tree twigs to the quarters allotted to the bridegroom's party. When dinner is ready, the bridegroom is again conducted back to the bride's house and both bride and bridegroom are given a meal of rice and curry (*ām̐khi*) made of *chhid̐da* or *baris* which are small cakes made of *ūrid* (*Phaseolus Roxburghii*) pulse and cucumber. When bride and bridegroom have eaten, dinner is served to all the guests. After dinner, tobacco and lime are distributed to the guests to chew. Then after mutual salutes, the bridegroom's party take leave of the bride's people, and lead the bride home with them. The bride's parents hand over to her an arrow which she has to carry till her arrival at her husband's house. This is meant to ward off the evil eye and to scare away any spirits that might seek to follow her or harm her on the way. The girl is carried some distance from her parents' home in the arms of some relative of her husband. For the first and last time the elder brother of the bridegroom may touch the new bride now; he usually carries her in his arms a short distance and then female relatives carry her turn by turn to some distance. Formerly, it is said, while the bride was being thus carried to her husband's home, her people would make a show of rescuing her and carrying her off, whereupon the bridegroom's people would pursue her and bring her back and run away with her; she would be again rescued by her people, and this acting would go on for a distance of a mile or more, and then the bride's people would return to their village, leaving the bride with her husband's people.

### III.—Ceremonies at the Bridegroom's House after Marriage

#### (1) Reception of the Bride

On arrival at the bridegroom's house, the bride's feet are washed with water in a brass dish by some female member of



the family. Two baskets are placed, one next to another, in the courtyard of the house. The bridegroom walks behind the bride pressing her heels with his toes (as in the *gurkhi-tirkhnā* ceremony), and both put their feet together first into one basket and then into the other. The baskets are then again placed on their way one behind the other and they again put their feet successively into them as before. And this process is repeated till they reach the doorway of the hut when they both step into one basket thus standing on it. The door is now shut against them or rather against the bride by a younger sister of the bridegroom who does not open the door until the bride pays her an *anna* or so. When the door is opened, the bride enters the room and she may not leave it until the *dāṇḍā kāṭṭā* or the ceremony of "cutting the evil teeth" has been performed by a *māṭi* in the manner described in a previous article.

### (2) Sindri-pabe

After the *dāṇḍā kāṭṭā* ceremony, the bride is bathed in the house with water brought from the village spring or tank or well. Then a female member of the family, or, in some villages, the *Goraitin* (wife of village musician and messenger) anoints the forehead and the parting of her hair with vermillion. The day's proceedings terminate in a feast to fellow-villagers and relatives.

### (3) First Bath and Meal

Very early next morning the couple are conducted to the village *dāri* or spring, where the bride has to put three marks of vermillion diluted in oil at the mouth of the spring or on the wood or stone marking the spring. The leaf in which the vermillion was carried is thrown into the water of the *dāri*. It is said that, in former days, the bridegroom on this occasion would rub a kind of red earth over the head of the bride and cleanse and wash it, and so would the bride cleanse and wash the head of the bridegroom. But this custom has now fallen into disuse. Then the bride and bridegroom each draws a jar of water from the spring and the bridegroom carries the two jars

home in a *sikā bākingā* or carrying-pole and nets. On the arrival of the couple at the house, the elder brothers of the bridegroom put down at the bride's feet an *anna* or so of copper coin and take up the water-jars and deftly pour some water on her head and she promptly enters the hut as if to avoid them. This signifies that from that day the new bride and her husband's elder brothers are taboo to each other. The bride and bridegroom are then seated apart in the same room. A meal of rice, pulse, etc. is first served to the bridegroom and then to the bride who is also given a portion of rice from the plate from which her husband has eaten. The bride sits quiet and does not touch the food unless and until some money (from four *annas* upwards) is paid to her.

#### (4) *Era-kirtana and Baharaont*

A day or two later, a number of female relatives of the bride come to the bridegroom's house to take back the bride to her parents' place. On their arrival the bridegroom's people give them water to wash their feet. They are then entertained with plenty of rice-beer which is followed up with a hearty meal of boiled rice, pulse-soup, vegetable curry, etc. The bride is then taken back to her parents' place. Generally the bridegroom is also invited and taken to his father-in-law's place along with the bride. Two or three of his relatives accompany the bridegroom on this occasion. In some instances the bridegroom is invited and taken to his father-in-law's place sometime later; but this must be done within the year of marriage. The bridegroom and his companions are entertained for a day or two as best as the means of the father-in-law allows, and then return home with the bride.

#### (5) *Jhara Gunda*

When going back to her husband's place, the bride takes with her as a present to her husband's family from her parents a pot of rice-beer (*jhārā*) and a small basketful of riceflour (*gūṇḍā*). These are carried by her female companions. It is believed that unless this present of *jhārā gūṇḍā*, as it is called, is sent with the girl, she will become barren, or, even if she

has any issue, the children will be sickly and will otherwise suffer pain or some calamity. On the bride's arrival at her husband's place, some female member of the bridegroom's family will distribute the rice-flour to every Orāon family in the village.

For two or three years after her marriage, the girl now and then pays short visits to her parents' place, particularly on occasions of periodical religious or socio-religious festivals. Should she happen to go to or stay at her father's place on the occasion of the *Karmā* festival during these years, her husband's people generally send her presents of one pot of rice-beer, one new *sūri* or cloth, two or three seers of parched rice (*churā*) and three or four seers of *aruā* rice, a seer or a half seer of molasses, be sides one or more cucumbers, in a basket dyed red.

#### (6) *Och-othorna* or extracting thorns

For three or four consecutive years or more after the marriage, the girl's people are every year invited to the girl's husband's place after the *Fāguā* festival. They come and stay for a day or two and are entertained with food and drink. The object of this visit is supposed to be to take out thorns that may have pricked the bridegroom's feet during the annual hunt at the *Fāgu* festival. But this traditional object is now only remembered through the name *Och-ōthorna*.

#### (7) Ceremony at first Pregnancy—*Joda-Kamna*

When an Orāon wife is with child for the first time, a sacrificial ceremony is performed with the object of finally cutting off her connection with the ancestor-spirits of her father and the village deities and spirits of her father's village. The father is invited for the occasion and comes to his son-in-law's place with a few kinsmen of his own. They are received with the usual formalities. Their feet are washed, and they are seated on a mat in an open space a little away from the house and are offered tobacco and lime to chew. A pig is then brought out and some grains of *aruā* rice are placed on the ground before it, and while the pig is eating the rice, the elders of the village sprinkle rice on its head, saying, "From this day may Ye, O ancestor-spirits, *deotas* (deities) and *bhuts* (spirits) of the

pregnant woman's father have no concern whatsoever with her. Leave her, ye ancestor-spirits, deities and ghosts." The pig is decapitated with an axe. Then the assembled guests go to the house of the husband of the woman and are regaled with rice-beer. When rice and meat have been cooked, they have a hearty meal. After chewing tobacco mixed with lime and after mutual salutations, the pregnant woman's people take leave of her husband's people.

### (8) Divorce and Widow Marriage

Ordinarily an Orāon can only take one maiden as his wife. It is only an Orāon having no issue by his first wife, who may be allowed to take even a maiden as his second wife in the regular *benjā* form. A widower may marry again even if he has children. But he can only marry either a widow or a divorced or deserted woman or a woman whose husband has left the country and has not been heard of for years. But in the last case, if the former husband returns later, he may take back his wife or may be bought off with a refund of the bride-price paid by him. In the case of a deserted wife, the husband has to be formally asked, before taking another husband, if he wants to take her back. In the case of a woman who has herself deserted her husband and does not want to go back to him, the bride-price paid by the husband must be returned before she can take another husband. If an Orāon bachelor wants to marry a widow, he has first to go through a mock marriage with a brass jar (*lōtā*) or with a flower, which is marked with vermilion by the bridegroom by way of marriage and then marry the widow as a second wife. By the second marriage a widow severs her relationship with the family of her former husband unless the second husband be a younger brother of the former husband. The marriage of a widow or widower can only be celebrated in the *sāgāi* form. In this form of marriage the ceremonies are much less elaborate than in the regular marriage of a bachelor to a maiden. A small bride-price of five rupees or so is paid and a cloth presented to the bride by the bridegroom, and bride and bridegroom mark each other on the forehead with

vermilion diluted in oil; the bridegroom also anoints vermilion on the parting of the bride's hair. Neither *kāṇṣā-bhāṇḍā* nor *kārsā-tāṭṭi* nor *Chaumka* nor *nāchua* and *mai-sāri* are taken to the bride's place, nor does any music accompany the bridal party.

The main grounds on which divorce is possible are, (1) that the wife is a *lāṇḍi* or run-away, that is, she habitually runs away from her husband's place; (2) that she is a *kurā* or habitual idler and neglects her household duties, or cannot perform them properly, e.g. cannot climb trees to pluck edible leaves, etc. or cannot break clods of earth in the fields or manure the soil; (3) that she is a *chūrni* or thief who steals and sells grain, etc. from the house; (4) that she possesses the evil eye (*najar*) or is a witch (*dāin*); (5) that she has been caught in adultery; (6) that she has brought sickness or misfortune and ill-luck to her husband's family; (7) that the wife is barren, or the husband is impotent; (8) that either the husband or the wife is a lunatic and (9) that either the husband or the wife has been converted to Christianity. Confirmed bad temper and frequent quarrels between husband and wife may also justify divorce. No special ceremonies or formalities are required to effect a divorce.

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

### I.—Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Govindpur

By Binayak Misra

Govindpur is a village in the Nayagarh Feudatory State in Orissa. This village is of much antiquity. It is said by the villagers that a good number of old coins have been discovered in this village at different times during the past forty years. I also learn from a reliable source that recently, probably in 1923, some ancient gold coins were unearthed with some gold ornaments while coolies were engaged in digging the ground for the purpose of constructing a schoolhouse. The State took possession of them and sold them by public auction. Unfortunately no research scholar could examine them.

There stand three temples, side by side, in this village. One temple faces the east and an image of the goddess Kaunri is enshrined in it. The date of the erection of this temple can at the earliest be assigned to be the fifteenth century A.D. There is an inscription on the outer body of the southern wall of this temple, touching the floor of the porch surrounding the temple. The measurement of the slab of stone on which the text is inscribed is 18" x 12". It contains four full lines and a half. The characters of the inscription resemble the northern scripts of the tenth century A.D. 15c

The inscription under discussion was formerly covered with plaster. In course of time the plaster was washed away by rain and the inscriptions became visible. In May 1926 I went to the spot solely for the purpose of deciphering it and found that the first line was not the beginning line of a text. Again the last two lines contain imprecatory verses only. It is, therefore, of no historical importance.



There is another temple facing the south. The image of Siva is enshrined in it. When I entered the temple I noticed an inscription containing two lines of the left wall of the gateway. This inscription is at the height of about 6 feet from the floor. Its measurement is 18"  $\times$  3½". The text runs thus : "Ranakesari Devasyavijayarājye Samvat 8 II Māgha sudi Ekādasi Budha Bāsare." (Translation). During the victorious reign of Rana Kesari Deva. In the year 811, on Wednesday, the 11th day of bright fortnight of Māgha.

I am of opinion that these two inscriptions are fragments of one complete text and they were formerly attached to another temple. Most probably that temple fell down and later on the present temples where the inscriptions are now found were erected with the materials of the former one. Therefore the different stones containing the inscriptions have been placed hither and thither.

Now, however, we find that the inscription discloses the name of a king. But it cannot be said with certainty whether Rana Kesari Deva was the name or title of a king.

## II.—On the Indian Folk-belief about the Corpse eating the Winding-sheet in which it is swathed

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

There is current in several parts of India a folk-belief which is to the following effect :—Whenever an epidemic rages at its highest, the corpse of one of the persons who have fallen a victim to it, is swathed in a winding-sheet and, instead of being cremated, is buried in the earth in a standing position. This burial of a Hindu victim of the epidemic is popularly believed to put a stop to the fell disease which may be raging. If it is not stamped out or does not abate in the least, the people dig up the buried corpse and see whether it has *eaten* or *chewed* the winding-sheet in which it has been swathed. If it is found to have done so it is looked upon as a bad omen, as it portends the further spread of the epidemic. In any case, however, the people cremate the disinterred corpse, in the belief that it will put a stop to the epidemic altogether.

In this paper I shall place on record three instances of the foregoing belief, which have either come under my notice or have been reported to me, and shall discuss the probable origin thereof.

I was Assistant Manager of the Hathwa Raj in North Bihar from November 1911 to March 1914. During my incumbency as Assistant Manager of the Raj I had a Hindu peon named Mahabir Hajam who lived in village Hathwa. Either in 1912 or 1913 a virulent epidemic of cholera broke out in the Hathwa village. While this fell disease was raging at its highest, one of Mahabir's little daughters fell a victim to it. Under the influence of the aforementioned belief, the villagers of Hathwa swathed her corpse in a winding-sheet and buried

her in the earth in a standing position. As the disease did not stop altogether or even abate to a small extent, the villagers made up their minds to disinter the corpse, and cremate it under the belief that the cremation will have the desired effect of putting a stop to the epidemic altogether. Accordingly, they did so and, after they had disinterred it, they found that it had swallowed a portion of the winding-sheet. They looked upon it as a very bad omen and apprehended that it would lead to the further increase of the disease. They therefore cremated the corpse. I do not recollect, at this distance of time, whether or not the burning of disinterred corpse was followed by the complete cessation of the epidemic.

This folk-belief appears to be prevalent in Bengal also. It has been reported to me that many years ago, my family in Calcutta had in its service a Bengali maidservant, who was a resident of a village in the moffussil. It is further stated that, on one occasion several years ago, a very virulent type of cholera broke out in her village, and her brother died of it. Under the influence of the foregoing belief, her co-villagers swathed her brother's corpse in a winding-sheet and buried him in the earth in a standing position. This burial of a Hindu's corpse is said to have altogether stamped out the epidemic from her village.

Though it is a far cry from North Bihar and Bengal to the Bombay Presidency, the aforementioned belief in a modified form is also prevalent in Western India. The following case is reported from that part of the country :—

The headman of a village named Verad in Kathiawar, who was a Rajput by birth, but who had lost his caste owing to an improper intimacy with a woman, died of fever; and, as he was an outcaste, his corpse was buried instead of being cremated. Shortly afterwards a number of persons in the same village happened to die of the same fever, and the villagers surmised that the deceased headman's corpse must be lying in the grave with his face downwards, *chewing the winding-sheet in which*

*the corpse was wrapped.* Many thought that the public health of the village would not be restored until the corpse was replaced in the correct position, with the face upwards, and unless the cloth was taken out of his mouth. None ventured to do so, being dissuaded by the fear of meeting with a worse fate. But although they did not disinter the corpse, yet they arranged for certain vows to be taken in honour of the dead man; and that put a stop to the disease.<sup>1</sup>

Now the question arises: How has this folk-belief originated?

To answer this question we will have to discuss the animistic theory of the origin of diseases. It is a cardinal doctrine of the philosophy of the Lower Culture that diseases are not caused by the violation of natural laws, the laws of hygiene and dietetics and the like, but by the entry of the Disease Demons into the human body. People do not like diseases. On the contrary they look upon them as evils to be got rid of. Similarly, people do not like disasters and misfortunes and ascribe them to the wrath of offended godlings and other supernatural beings. So, Sir James Campbell has very aptly remarked that, to the people in a low plane of culture, "*the unwilling is the spirit-caused*," that is to say, whatever physical and spiritual troubles afflict a people, these are believed by them to have been caused by spirits or supernatural beings.<sup>2</sup>

As the uncultured folk's belief is that all diseases are caused by the entry into the human body of Disease Demons, they have accordingly hit upon two methods of curing the ills that human flesh is heir to, viz. that of flogging out the *Disease Demon* from the patient's body, and that of putting a stop to epidemics and other outbreaks of diseases by burying the corpse of a deceased person into whose body the demon had entered.

How widespread is the belief that diseases can be cured by flogging out the Disease Demon from the patient's body, will

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<sup>1</sup> *The Folklore of Bombay.* By R. E. Enthoven. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Pp. 260-61.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 9, 10 and 257.

appear from the following blood-curdling account of an exorcism ceremony which has been related from the Bombay Presidency :—

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., while a Junior Magistrate at Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency, about 30 years ago (i. e. 1894) investigated a case of murder in which a girl named Giddwa was killed under the following circumstances : The girl complained of a pain in her back, which was supposed to be caused by an evil spirit named Uzzi, which had entered her. Thereupon a Muhammadan exorcist named Jimal Din and two Hindu exorcists named Mudewala and Adevi were called in. These men at first made the girl lie flat on the ground and commenced to tread and jump on her body. Then they flogged the girl with a stick asking the evil spirit Uzzi to leave her. Being unable to bear the pain of the beating, the girl fled crying out that the spirit was leaving her. Then more flogging followed. The result of this was that the girl became unconscious and died.<sup>1</sup>

The Filipinos, or the natives of the Philippine Islands, also believe that diseases are caused by demons who take possession of the bodies of their victims. In such cases the treatment, adopted by Filipino witch-doctors for the cure of these maladies, is the application of fire to the victim's toes or by flogging the sick patient, as will appear from the following evidence, which has been recently collected from the aforementioned islands :—"Often the sickness takes the form of temporary paralysis, or the sick man jumps and twitches as if he had St. Vitus's dance. In such cases a cure is possible, and the witch-doctor is summoned. All his 'cures' are extremely brutal, the favourite *methods of expelling the demons* being *by fire or by beating the afflicted*. The sick man is tied securely with rattan withes before any operation is attempted, and, if fire is to be used, splinters are thrust between his toes and lighted. Soon the demons will cry out and leave the body. *In case a beating is considered best, the 'huntating hagni' is*

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 9, 10.

*called into play. This murderous instrument is the horny tail of the deepsea-sting-ray, and a slight blow on the bare skin will draw blood. If the victim recovers the witch-doctor is liberally rewarded, but if his victim dies the neighbours will merely shrug their shoulders and have a deeper fear for the witch supposed to have brought about the death."*<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes it is believed that spirits take possession of certain individuals and take up their residence in their brains. The exorcist, who is called in to treat these spirit-obsessed persons, resorts to the expedient of driving out the obnoxious spirit, not by flogging the patient but *by making a hole in the latter's skull by driving a nail through it in order that the spirit might go away through that hole.* The result of this treatment is that the patient, more often than not, dies, as will appear from the following case which occurred in the district of Muzaffarpur in North Bihar during 1925 and which has been mentioned in the Annual Report of the Administration of the Police in Bihar and Orissa for that year—

"In Muzaffarpur a village *Ojha* drove an iron nail into the head of a woman to liberate the evil spirit which was said to possess her"<sup>2</sup>.

Now, the second expedient or remedy, which has been devised by the uncultured folk, is that epidemics and other outbreaks of diseases can be stopped by the interment in the earth of the corpse of person into whose body the Disease Demon has entered and who has therefore died of the ailment. This is the root cause of the aforementioned folk-belief which is prevalent in North Bihar, Bengal and the Bombay Presidency and which forms the subject matter of this paper.

Then again, the further question arises: How has this belief, in modified form, found its way into such widely separated

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<sup>1</sup> Vide the article entitled *Witchcraft in the Philippines. Weird Rites practised by Native Sorcerers* published in the *Statesman* of Sunday the 10th October 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Vide the article entitled *Amazing Crimes in Bihar. Witchcraft Belief* published in the *Statesman* of Wednesday the 13th October 1926.



parts of India as North Bihar, Bengal and Bombay. This can be explained only by the fact that, from time immemorial there has been considerable intercourse between the peoples of these parts, either for the purpose of pilgrimage or of trade. So the people may have carried the belief from one part of the country to another.